DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 415 541 CS 509 666

TITLE	Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (80th, Chicago, Illinois, July 30-August 2, 1997): Minorities and Communication.
INSTITUTION	Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication.
PUB DATE	1997-07-00
NOTE	169p.; For other sections of these Proceedings, see CS 509 657-676.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Proceedings (021) -- Reports - Research (143)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC07 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome; American Indians; Asian Americans; Blacks; *Ethnicity; Films; Higher Education; *Journalism; Latin Americans; *Mass Media Role; *Minority Groups; *News Media; Newspapers; *Racial Factors; School Desegregation; Television; Videotape Recordings
IDENTIFIERS	Latinas; Latinos; University of Alabama

ABSTRACT

The Minorities and Communication section of the Proceedings contains the following seven papers: "HIV/AIDS Video Programming for Latino Youth" (Hilary N. Karasz); "Use of Asian American History in the News Media: The Discourse of 'Model Minority'" (Chiung Hwang Chen and Ethan Yorgason); "No Racism Here: News Coverage of the Desegregation of the University of Alabama" (Jim Sernoe); "Racial Differences in Responding to Occupational Portrayals by Models on Television" (Osei Appiah); "They Just Keep Rolling Along: Images of Blacks in Film Versions of 'Show Boat'" (Douglass K. Daniel); "Like the Sun Piercing the Clouds: Native American Tribal Newspapers and Their Functions" (Teresa Trumbly Lamsam); and "Newspaper Coverage of Immigration in 1996 and Reader Ethnicity" (Yu-li Chang). Individual papers contain references. (CR)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 415 541

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR EDUCATION IN JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION (80th, Chicago, Illinois, July 30-August 2, 1997).

MINORITIES and COMMUNICATION

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☑ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

J. McGill

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

CS509646

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

HIV/AIDS Video Programming for Latino Youth

A paper submitted to the Minorities and Communication Division of the AEJMC

Hilary N. Karasz
Doctoral Student
University of Washington

508 NE 72nd St.
Seattle, WA 98115
(206) 522-1816
karasz@u.washington.edu

Abstract: HIV/AIDS video programming for Latino Youth

The purpose of this study is to provide guidelines for improving programming about HIV/AIDS for a specific population of Latino adolescents. A set of programming recommendations was developed from the literature and tested in a series of focus group discussions with Latino teenagers from a San Francisco outreach center. The findings show that teenagers prefer and recommend explicit, detailed information about HIV/AIDS, presented with particular attention to realistic characterization and the male/female relationship.

In the second decade of the AIDS epidemic, it has become clear that the HIV virus is ravaging some populations more than others. While older gay men have, to some degree, adopted behavior changes that have slowed the spread of the virus in that population, the same is not true for young gay men or boys, or for teenagers in general. In fact, the increase in the rate of new infection among teenagers is high: Between 1991 and 1993 the number of HIV-infected 13 to 21-year-olds grew by 77% (WHO, 1994). It is important to mobilize all available resources to combat this disease. Communication strategies, and mass media in particular, need to be exploited to their fullest to play a role in curbing the spread of the virus, by providing preventative information to specialized audiences.

Among the hardest hit of the adolescent groups are minority teens. HIV is over represented in the general Latino population. While Latinos make up nine percent of the U.S. population, they carry 17 percent of the disease burden (DeCarlo, VanOss Marin, Gomez, & Diaz, 1997; Handsfield and Jaffe, 1990)[1]. Among Latino teens, however, this ratio is even more skewed (Hein, 1990). Studies show the sexual patterns of teens, their drug and alcohol use, and their approach to personal risk assessment put them at higher risk than other populations, and Latino teens may be equally or more vulnerable to HIV due to these reasons (Selik, Castro, & Pappaioanou, 1988; DiClemente, Boyer and Morales, 1988: Centers for Disease Control, 1990).

School-based interventions may be useful to educate teens about HIV prevention, but the mass media can also contribute (Choi & Coates, 1994). While not the only solution to the problem, mass media are useful for reaching some populations of at-risk youth who are not in school, or not included in mainstream prevention programs (Miller, Turner & Moses, 1990). Given the monetary constraints of interpersonal intervention strategies, and the variety of populations served by the media, it seems important to exploit the capacity of low-cost mass media such as videos to educate about prevention. In fact, many video programs have been produced to reach the Latino teenage population.

One problem with video making is that little is known about what elements would need to be included to actually constitute an effective video for a particular audience such as Latino teenagers. "Videos have often been based on untested assumptions about what

[1] The Centers for Disease Control also found that African Americans and Latinos were disproportionately affected by HIV/AIDS. Per 100,000 people, the rate of reported AIDS cases among African Americans

a given population needs and what effective messages will be..." (O'Donnell, San Doval, Vornfett, DeJong, 1994). This study looked at video programming from the perspective of Latino teens and found several recommendations or criteria in terms of what they want included in a video product. The researcher found that it is critical to clarify with the target audience on specifics of video design. Further, the research shows that adolescent girls face particular challenges around sex and HIV/AIDS that should be addressed in video products.

Three areas of recommendations were initially identified for designing HIV/AIDS prevention messages for Latino youth. These points derive from common assumptions about 1) the epidemiology of HIV/AIDS; 2) Latino culture; and 3) effective health education. The purpose of this study was to test the recommendations to see if they are critical for inclusion from the perspective of the audience. By consulting with the target audience, it was hoped that these recommendations would be clarified and augmented.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR HIV/AIDS PROGRAMMING

Recommendations stemming from the epidemiology of HIV/AIDS

One of the problems with prevention of HIV is the pervasive myth that it is membership in a particular group, rather than the practice of high-risk behavior that makes one vulnerable to HIV infection. For example, one common myth is that only older gay men get AIDS. Therefore, if a boy does not "self-identify" as gay, then he may not feel he is at risk. People may not self-identify as gay because they have other, heterosexual relationships or because they are the active rather than passive partner during sex (Miller, et al, 1989; Dilley, Pies & Helquist, 1991; Peterson & Marin, 1988; Ferris, 1991). More generally, though, teenagers often have a feeling of invincibility, that they are immune to bad consequences for their behavior regardless of whether it is considered "high-risk" or not (Strunin & Hingson, 1987; DiClemente, Brown, Beausoleil & Lodico, 1993). In other words, it is an issue of perceived risk versus actual risk. Therefore, recommendation number one is that *any video message about HIV should emphasize that it is high-risk behavior, not membership in a high-risk group, that makes one vulnerable to HIV infection.*

---

was 92.2, among Latinos the rate was 46.2 and among whites the rate was 15.4 cases per 100,000 (CDC, 1997).

2

A person may know that high-risk activity increases her chances of contracting HIV, so it is necessary to explain how HIV is transmitted. Latino teens were found to have misconceptions about HIV transmission. For example, they were more likely than Black or white teens to believe that one can get AIDS from being in casual contact with someone who has the disease (DiClemente, et al, 1988). For prevention measures to make sense, it is important to clarify transmission routes. Therefore, recommendation number two is that *video messages should clarify how HIV is transmitted.*

One abundantly clear route of infection is through the sharing of unsterilized needles with an infected person. Since needles are illegal to buy without a prescription, we can deduce that many teens who use needles share them. Peterson and Marin (1988) have suggested that poor, minority drug users may have an even more difficult time obtaining clean needles because of the high cost of "works" on the black market. Furthermore, "legitimate" needle users (those who use them for vitamin or medication injection) may share needles with friends and family (Peterson & Marin, 1988). Needles may be shared for the purposes of tattooing or body piercing as well, according to some Latino AIDS patients (Navarro, 1990). People also share needles as a way of sharing drugs; a little bit of drug may be left in the needle that can stave off withdrawal. While a relatively small number of teenagers use needles for any reason (one percent of teens had used them for injecting drugs, according to Strunin & Hingson, 1987), it is an important route of entry of the virus into a teenage population, where it can be spread through sexual contact. The third recommendation is that *videos should clarify that the use for any reason of non-sterilized needles is dangerous.*

Drugs that do not require needles clearly contribute to HIV infection because drugs and alcohol are associated with higher risk sexual behavior. In fact, teenagers (not just Latino teens) may be at a higher risk generally because of "risk behaviors such as experimentation with sex and illicit drugs" (Goodman & Cohall, 1989, p. 37). In an intoxicated state, condom-use during sex may not be at the forefront of a person's mind. As condoms are known to be one of the best ways to prevent HIV transmission during sex, recommendation number four is that *videos should clarify that condom-use is effective if used consistently and correctly.*

<u>Recommendations stemming from culture-related assumptions</u>

Inner-city Latino youth do not have the same cultural referents as do suburban, white teenagers. It is not entirely appropriate to generalize what "Latino" cultural referents are, of course, in part because the label "Latino" refers to so many different groups of people. It is necessary, however, to design the video program with each group's social, political and economic environment in mind. Part of the problem is that much HIV education for Latinos is that specific needs and characteristics of the population are not taken into account. For example, language is often a problem. One study showed that "Hispanic males did not know the meaning of or referents for the Spanish equivalents of the English terms for anal or oral sexual relations and the term 'active sexual life' was misperceived as only including...risky sexual practices" (Peterson & Marin, 1988, p. 872). Additionally, "...most clinics...have...a shortage of materials developed with sufficient attention to Hispanics' linguistic and cultural needs" (O'Donnell et al, 1994). In the case of inner-city Latino youth, linguistic needs may involve the use of both Spanish and English, which would reflect the way language is often used in the community. It may also involve the use of the type of slang used on the street. The fifth recommendation, then, is that *it is necessary to know exactly how language is used and to adapt it to the video product.*

Another culturally shaped issue is sexuality, which is often a difficult topic in Latino communities. For some Latinas, sexuality is a taboo subject to the extent that "a small subset of Latino women experience physical and verbal abuse in response to requests for their partners to use condoms" (Mays & Cochran, 1988, p. 951). Another issue to consider is the religious stipulation for unmarried girls to be virgins. For this reason, an increasing number of Latino girls are engaging in high-risk anal sex in order to remain a virgin ("SIDA is AIDS," 1988). It is important to recognize these culture issues and keep them in mind when designing video products. Therefore, the sixth recommendation is that *producers should bear in mind the cultural realities or characteristics of the target audience when designing video products.*

In thinking about the cultural reality of the target audience, it is important to think about who is going to deliver the message about HIV. In other words, it is necessary to think about the credibility of the actors. Although it may not be as true recently, in the past "when someone of authority on the screen talks about the risks of AIDS, this individual [was] a white male, not an ethnic minority member, and seldom an ethnic

woman" (Mays & Cochran, 1988, p. 951). In the case of Latino teens then, it would seem appropriate to have Latino actors directed at Latino adolescents. Recommendation number seven, therefore, is that *video messages be given by a credible source, who would most likely be a person from the target audience's own ethnic group.*

Recommendations stemming from health education issues

One of the most important things to keep in mind in designing health education programs is that the behavior one wants the target audience to engage in must be seen as adoptable (Goldstein, 1959). The belief in one's ability to cope with a threat, or to complete a task such as adopting safer-sex behavior, is an example of Bandura's concept of "self-efficacy." A person chooses to adopt a certain behavior according to her belief in the consequences and belief in personal efficacy, so "[the] strength of people's convictions in their own effectiveness is likely to affect whether they will even try to copy with a given situation" (Bandura, 1977, p. 193).

In the HIV prevention context, many have argued that what we should be doing is trying to convince teenagers to cope with the issue by abstaining from sex altogether or by not doing drugs. Certainly these are appropriate options for some (Haffner, 1988). But we must also recognize that there are teens who are already having sex or who will not choose to abstain. And in the case of a person who wants her partner to use condoms, for example, she must believe that getting him to use them is possible. Videos have the potential to model appropriate behaviors (such as how to get one's partner to use a condom) and such modeling is useful because "modeling [provides] an authentic experimental base" and teaches "...effective coping skills by demonstrating ways of handling threatening situations..." (p. 198 & 199).

Self-efficacy and coping theories have much to offer the video designer. Obviously, it is behavioral skills that are required to be safer. Therefore, teens need to be shown how to handle situations such as getting a reluctant partner to use condoms or use safer sex techniques (DiClemente et al, 1993). Teens need to develop these new behavioral skills. Therefore, the eighth recommendation is that *confidence in performing HIV preventative behaviors or skills should be boosted by modeling those behaviors, and they should be portrayed as relatively easy to adopt.*

The preceding recommendations, developed from the literature, might be used when designing HIV prevention videos for Latino youth. To reiterate, the video should...

1) emphasize that it is high-risk behavior, not membership in a high-risk group, that makes one vulnerable to HIV infection.

2) clarify how HIV is transmitted.

3) stress that the use for any reason of non-sterilized needles is dangerous.

4) explain that condom-use is effective if used consistently and correctly.

5) use the language of the target audience.

6) be cognizant of the cultural norms and values of the target audience.

7) use credible sources from the target audience's own ethnic group.

8) demonstrate relevant behavior skills needed by the target audience.

These recommendations are derived from thinking about what all it takes to make an effective video about HIV for Latino youth. One area that has been completely avoided above is the area of production values. Production values are, to some degree, a subjective aesthetic. The idea behind these recommendations is that all things being equal, the video maker that bears in mind the points brought up here should have better success in producing a viable, acceptable video product. It is necessary, however, to ask members of the target audience, who should know better than anyone else, what they want in a video product targeted at them.

METHODS

So far I have developed a set of criteria, or recommendations to use in designing effective HIV/AIDS programming for Latino youth. I turn now to designing a test of these recommendations. A qualitative study was conducted on the target audience using a pilot tape called "Face to Face with AIDS." The tape was shown to four groups of Latino teens, for whom the tape was produced by a professional production company in order to stimulate discussion about HIV programming for Latino youth. After the "discussion stimulus tape" was shown, the researcher(s) conducted four focus group discussions.

The stimulus tape was used as a launching pad for discussion to get opinions and further recommendations from the perspective of the target audience itself. In an exploratory study such as this, it was critical to use focus groups rather than surveys, or other quantitative methods. This is because the underlying assumption of the study is that researchers can not know what would make a good video product - without the

perspective of the target audience. It as important to let members of the target audience speak for themselves.

Just as focus groups are employed for consumer product testing, they are appropriate for getting reactions of heath education clients. As Basch (1987, p. 436) has said, "Understanding community wishes and views...is consistent with the philosophy of health education, and is of key importance for planning programs that will not only be efficacious, but that will be accepted, successfully implemented, attended, and maintained."

The study was conducted in the metropolitan region of San Francisco, in the "Mission" district. The Bay Area has a large number of Latinos, who often live in districts such as the Mission in San Francisco or Fruitvale District in Oakland. The focus group respondents were comprised of 18 male and female Latino teenagers, aged 13-18. The teens were recruited from a Mission District youth outreach center.

Respondents were selected on the basis of their membership in the target audience. Users of support services were an appropriate population for several reasons. First, they might be more aware of, and interested in, the issues of HIV/AIDS and Latino youth. Second, the population may be different from the regular school population, in that some of them were public-school drop-outs, or are unable to function in a regular school environment. Therefore, these teens were representative of adolescents who were more likely to have missed the traditional HIV/AIDS education in school, and would be more likely to represent the critical target audience of a mass mediated HIV/AIDS message.

Questionnaire

Short questionnaires were administered before and after viewing the tape. The questionnaires were given to find out what the teens knew about HIV transmission and infection prevention techniques. The questionnaires were not intended to determine the respondents' own behavior or to assess effectiveness of the stimulus tape. All questions were asked in terms of "true", "false", and "not sure." The questionnaires were in English on one side of the paper and Spanish on the other. The participants were asked to choose either version.

Stimulus tape

The 30 minute video, "Face to Face with AIDS," largely fits the criteria listed above for a successful health education product. "Face to Face with AIDS" focuses on a group of Latino teenagers who lean about AIDS by example. The main character's father contracts AIDS through injection drug use (IDU), and a peer from the neighborhood gets infected with HIV via IDU also. Many important issues are raised concerning risky behavior, and techniques to avoid contracting HIV are discussed. Although most of the information is given in English, Spanish is used informally. The main character, a teenage girl named Ana, is shown rejecting pressure to have sex. A boy refuses to do, or condone, drugs. Consequences for these actions are portrayed as positive -these teens are eventually admired by their peers for resisting pressure. Other issues brought up in the video include irrational fear of people with AIDS, misconceptions that AIDS is a disease of homosexuals only, and the importance of talking with friends and family about AIDS and HIV transmission.

Procedures

Participants from each outreach center were divided into groups of five members each. One group had three members only. The groups were given the first questionnaire, followed by the video, followed by the second questionnaire.

Following the second questionnaire, the participants engaged in a focus group discussion. The focus groups were led by a moderator team consisting of a 28 year old female, monolingual English speaker, and a 30 year old male, bilingual native Spanish speaker. The exception to this is that an all-girl group was moderated by the female only. At no time did the Spanish speaking moderator act as a translator. Open-ended questions relating to the recommendations developed above (on AIDS information, characters, and language use, for example) were asked and suggestions solicited. Participants were encouraged to indicate which segments or aspects of the video seemed legitimate, realistic, and possibly effective, and which were not.

RESULTS

Questionnaire

The results show that the participants had strong base-line knowledge of HIV transmission and prevention. About 90% correct responses were obtained. There was no

one question in particular that was answered incorrectly. There was little increase in correct responses following the video viewing, owing largely to a "ceiling effect."

Focus Groups

The major finding from the data collected from the focus groups is that the teens felt that the stimulus tape was "fake" and did not represent their (the target audience's) lives or lifestyles. Nor did the video address AIDS/HIV issues effectively or completely, according to the teens. The lack of correct representation of characters apparently interfered with the viewers' ability to relate to the characters and the story line. This was a problem, according to one 15-year-old girl, "It looks bad when they make it fake 'cuz they're going to think AIDS is fake; they're going to think the disease is fake." The video, and other videos like it, according to the respondents, was "fake" for a number of different reasons, including inappropriate language and characterization. The findings essentially confirm the recommendations for HIV/AIDS programming developed above, but several recommendations must be modified to reflect the findings. Several new recommendations emerged in addition to the original ones.

Recommendation number one suggests that HIV/AIDS information should stress that it is one's behavior, not one's associates, that makes an individual susceptible to HIV infection. The teens interviewed here agreed with this recommendation. They saw the difference between membership in a high-risk group and engaging in risky behaviors in terms of "lifestyle" choices. In other words, they agreed that one's susceptibility to HIV has nothing to do with sexual orientation per se, or ethnic group, rather it is the lifestyle or behavior choices one makes that leaves a person vulnerable.

They felt, however, that the stimulus tape presented their ethnic group as a high-risk group. For example, even though the teens were aware that HIV/AIDS is over-represented among Latinos, they were adamant that it's not a "Latin" problem only, and that videos should reflect this. A 15-year-old boy said, "All they ever show is Blacks and Latins, that's all they ever are." One 16-year-old male teen commented that by showing "only" certain minorities, racist conclusions may be drawn. "If they just put in Blacks and Latins, it brings in a type of racism." A majority of the teens favored multicultural characters because it is "the HIV reality." Rather than portraying only Latino characters,

a 15-year-old boy said, "They should have whites, blacks, Filipinos...all good friends, you know, having a good time at a party."

Recommendation number two stipulates that specific information be disseminated in AIDS/HIV videos. The teens agreed strongly with this recommendation, and responded negatively to the video because it was not explicit enough, especially in terms of sex and transmission. For example, some teems had specific questions they wanted answered. A 15-year-old boy asked, "Can you get it from oral sex?" A 15-year-old girl asked, "Can you get it from French kissing?"

Criteria numbers three and four addressed prevention techniques. All of the teens felt that the IDU connection to HIV was over emphasized and the sex/HIV connection was de-emphasized to the detriment of the video. One 18-year-old girl said, "They make it seem like you can only get HIV from shooting up, but it's also like then if you get drunk, or if you get high, you could have a condom in your pocket but not use it 'cuz you're so messed up." Several boys felt that the video "de-emphasized" sex because they felt the point of the movie was to avoid sex altogether. A 16-year-old boy said, "Oh s**t you know no real person can wait."

The teenagers acknowledged that sharing needles is a primary way to contract HIV, but they insisted that IDU is not common in their group. Older people do inject drugs, however, and several of the teenagers told stories about their fathers or uncles who shoot up. One 15-year-old girl related a story of her uncle and her father always doing drugs together until her uncle died last year of AIDS. "Still," this 15-year-old girl said, "Not that many young people shoot up, I don't think kids do it, just O.G.s ["Old Gangsters"]."

Though the teens were adamant that IDU is not common among their peers, they wanted, nevertheless, specific information such as how to sterilize needles. They did not want, however, to include this information, or any other information, if it meant sacrificing realism. For example, in a party scene in the stimulus video, a group of teens is shown sitting around sharing needles. While it would not have been "real" to show the characters all cleaning needles together, it might have been appropriate to show a character going over to the side to bleach a needle. In addition, several boys mentioned the danger of using communal tattooing needles, and suggested this should also be

considered in the message. It is important to maintain real characterization, and show safer behaviors in context.

Instead of injection drug use, these teens felt that other drugs and alcohol presented a larger threat in relation to AIDS/HIV transmission. A 15-year-old boy said, "I'd show real life, you know, crack. I'd show drinking, and weed, and chicks on a dude's ass, and there's a lot of people getting raped." Many teens acknowledge the relationship between alcohol, drugs, and HIV transmission. A 15-year-old boy said, "I'd show it like it happens. First they hang out, in a gang or whatever, then they drink up, smoke marijuana, get some girls, and the next thing you know they have sex without a condom. That's the way it goes."

Most teens mentioned that more information about condoms would be desirable, with one 15-year-old boy saying, "They didn't tell you nothing about condoms, except that one time" (in one scene of the stimulus tape, a condom package was shown for a few seconds). The teenagers seemed skeptical about and even angry that more precise information was not given in the tape. They very much wanted more information on condoms, for example. A 15-year-old boy who rated the video a "three" on a scale of one-to-ten said, "What would I change? They didn't show nothing about sex in there, only about needles." To which another boy answered, "Not even about needles!" These teenagers had extremely specific questions about HIV transmission (as mentioned above), such as "What happens when the condoms break?" and "how much saliva is enough to pass on the virus if it's true that kissing is safe?" The teens made comments that suggest they want to know how to use condoms, which brands are better than others, and how to make safer sex more enjoyable. Given that many of these teens have significant base-line knowledge about HIV/AIDS, it would seem appropriate to address their more specific questions in future videos.

In addition, most of the teens felt that AIDS should be presented in the context of other diseases. A 15-year-old girl said, "You know, I think there should have been more than AIDS in that movie, like genital warts, herpes, and every other STD there is."

Recommendation number five calls for the use of realistic language. The teenagers agreed with this idea, and felt that the stimulus tape did a good job in presenting the Spanish language element of this recommendation. The majority of the teens said they use Spanish and English interchangeably, and several said, "I speak Spanglish." For

most of these teens, then, language mixing and the use of "Spanglish" seems to be the most "realistic" choice.

Slang usage in the stimulus tape was not sufficient, however, with the result that characters sounded "fake." According to the respondents, the video did not show the way people really talk. These teenagers use colloquial language and they swear frequently. The teens felt that the video language was "dressed up." A 16-year-old boy said, "[the video language] was kind of sophisticated. Regular talk is freer." "Regular talk" is real and graphic. According to one participant, "It should have been more like reality. Bitch or s**t, they should have used the real words." Basically, the teens agreed that a more realistic characterization of their lives would include the heavy use of the kind of "street" language they use. Slang and vulgarity is part of this street language. Using their vernacular and grammar is part of making a "real life" video and so it can not be dismissed.

Recommendation number six addresses appropriate characterization of the lives of the target population. According to the teens this should be the basis of HIV/AIDS videos, and education videos in general. In their complaints about how "fake" the video was, the teens were really saying that their social environment was not being presented realistically. In fact, the biggest complaint about the video seemed to be the [mis]characterization of teenagers' culture, the ways in which they interacted and spoke with each other. For example, a 15-year-old girls said, "[The characters] just opened up to each other too quickly. People are more quiet, they keep it inside, and then it takes them a long time to finally say it." [This girl was referring to a scene in which a male character tells a female character about the time he was raped.] Another unrealistic situation in the video was when one character turns down her boyfriend's request for sex. It was unrealistic, according to a 15-year-old girl, because "It was too sweet. He coulda beat on her. They should show it like it is."

Recommendation number seven says that videos should use credible sources. All the teens in the study were "Latino" with roots in Latin America, and several of them were multi-ethnic - part African-American, part Euro-American. Most of the participants felt that videos should reflect their own multiculturalism. "Multiculturalism" is, to some degree, a subjective term. What is multicultural for teens in San Francisco may not be the

same for teens in other cities or towns. A 15-year-old girl said, "My friends are...more interracial, more like 'Jungle Fever.'"

Many teens were offended by the "targeting" of the Latino population by using all Latino characters. A 15-year-old boy said, "was this video supposed to go out to Latins only? I think it's wrong. I think they should show everybody, not just one race, color or religion." In short, these teens live in a multicultural setting. The teens want videos to reflect this diversity.

Essentially, the teens agreed with the criteria of having "credible" sources, but did not limit "credibility" to their own ethnic group. Rather, the teens wanted characters that were their own age. They thought that the characters in the video were too old (they appeared to be from 16-20 plus), and would have preferred younger characters. One 15-year-old boy said, "They should make a movie, you know, with teenagers, [because] mostly they do adults with problems." In describing characters they wanted included in an ideal video, the teens said "15 years old" when they mentioned age. The participants were almost all 15 years old. They seemed to prefer, as one 15-year-old girl said, more "youth oriented" characters rather than "culture oriented" characters.

Recommendation number eight addresses the issue of modeling and boosting self confidence through such modeling. The teens in the study did not discuss the "confidence boosting" element of the suggestion, but it was clear that in an "ideal" video, which would portray life "like it is," the teens would want specific "how to" skills modeled. They do want a video full of characters like the people they know; teens who get drunk and don't bother putting on condoms. But significantly, they also want to be shown characters who weren't so "stupid", i.e. role-modeled characters. Girls, especially, were interested in having as models girls who have safer sex. The teenagers were sensitive to media conventions that prohibit the actual demonstration of condom use, but several suggested that some sort of alternative demonstration was necessary. Additionally, girls did not know how to initiate safer sex discussion with their partners, and are interested in having girls who "stand up for themselves," as one 15-year-old girl said.

The teens seemed to want to be shown behavioral solutions to problems in the real world. This became clear by the sense of disgust that the teenagers had for what they felt was the stimulus tape's half-hearted attempt to suggest solutions for difficult situations.

For example, in a scene where a boy is only barely implied to have sex without a condom, the general comment was that all that the scene "said" was, "Don't pick up someone and don't go into a room." Videos need to portray characters who represent teenagers actually doing safe behaviors. The participants seemed to want role models they can emulate, so it is crucial to include realistic characters making positive choices.

A new recommendation that emerged from the discussions as it became clear from how the teens were interacting with each other and from what they said directly is that an important issue surrounding HIV/AIDS education is the tension in the male/female relationship. This tension is profound, and has serious consequences for boys' and, especially, for girls' health. Relations between boys and girls are so polarized that one 14-year-old girl said, "You know what I think? I think we should have a video with a boys' point of view and a video with a girls' point of view."

There seemed to be a double standard that the boys want to hold to the girls. Boys call the girls with whom they have sex "prostitutes," but they also have deprecating words for those girls who refuse to have sex with them. The following statements were made by 14 and 15-year-old girls in the all-girls discussion. "If we don't give it [sex] to them they call us bitches, if we do, we're hos" [whores]. "[I turned him down] now I feel like I did something wrong." "They're like hey, she gives it [sex] out so I'll go up to her and abuse her." "[If you lose our virginity] they'll disrespect you just because of that." In comparison, the following comments were made by 14 and 15-year-old boys: "[Girls have sex] because they want to...alright, if one of you's a virgin...and you do me, then straight up you're a ho." "You know if you're a virgin I'm not going to say nothing but if you had sex one time then I'm going to call you a ho." It should be understood, of course, that girls are interested in sex just as the boys are. If they were not, the dynamics of the boy/girl situation would be completely different.

Some girls are afraid of violence being done on them by the boys for not having sex. In a mixed boy/girl group, a 15-year-old girl said, "A lot of girls don't say no because [they think] 'Oh when I see him is he going to beat me up and call me a skanky bitch or something?'" Girls do not think boys care about HIV or their (girls' or boys') health. A 15-year-old girl said, "They don't care. Dudes don't care, they is some dirty dogs in heat." Another girl commented, "It's not that [AIDS is only] a man's problem,

it's just that they be horny and they don't care. They don't think they can get it." Essentially, girls are ridiculed if they do not have sex, and harassed if they do.

Another fundamental problem is that a girl is not "allowed" to initiate safer sex by providing or asking for a condom because, according to both boys and girls, the boys are responsible for this decision. If a girl brings it up she is likely to be labeled a "ho." One 14-year-old girl said, "That's the way all guys are, if a girl will pull out a condom they'll think she's a ho." Girls seem angry and confused by the boys' attitudes. As a 15-year-old girl said, "Cuz see, that's what I don't understand, they get mad, but at the same time they want it."

Boys claimed to disparage girls who offered condoms. A 14-year-old boy said, "I wouldn't f**k a girl who carried a condom, I always have a jimmy." "Some girls are prostitutes, like some girls I've been with, you know, they ask if I'm going to wear a condom." A 15-year-old boy said, "I wouldn't f**k a bitch who carried a condom…'cuz that means she's a dirty ho, she's prepared and everything, that means she's always doing it and everything." One female member of a discussion group asked the boys, "What happens if the guy says he's responsible [by providing a condom] and then doesn't act responsible? Does she get AIDS because of that?" The boy responded, "Well, she shouldn't be doing it in the first place."

The girls in this study were clearly disgusted with their male peers, but at the same time, they were not ready to discount them totally, of course. They were confused and angry, though, at the way boys were so quick to label them "hoes" or "bitches," and to some degree resent the double standard over the condom-use issue. This is a serious problem for the girls to negotiate - to demand that their partners allow them to participate in sex decision making, but also to avoid the boys who abuse them for asserting themselves and their needs. Girls must be shown role models who can do both.

Finally it must be kept in mind that many of the boys, and even girls, were using exaggerated rhetoric at least occasionally, which to some degree, distorts the findings in some unclear way. For example, it was clear that the boys were using exaggerated rhetoric when they (two 15-year-olds) claimed that if they got HIV they would give it to "every girl they knew" who could have given it to them. To what degree such rhetoric creates a climate of intimidation is something that should certainly be addressed in future research.

The data are clear in that most of the issues raised by individuals were echoed and agreed to by a large majority of the other teens. To summarize, the data show that these teens agreed with the general premises of the recommendations. These teens were concerned the age, ethnicity, lifestyle and language use of the characters, as well as with an honest, no-holds-barred reflection of the male/female relationship in general and sexual information in particular. There was a tremendous amount of tension in boy/girl relations, which centers around sex. According to girls, future videos on a sexual topic such as HIV/AIDS should focus on this tension, not belittle it, and provide modeling solutions to address it.

CONCLUSION

The participants in this study were generally in agreement with each other as to what they wanted in an "ideal" video on HIV and AIDS. Through the process of the group discussions, the researcher discovered that the "ideal" video would address the main constraint to these teenagers adopting safer sex methods, namely the profound tension in the boy/girl relationship. The need to address this tension must be added to the list of recommendations discussed above. The original recommendations are confirmed by the findings, though they are modified and clarified to a great degree: The characters need to be very similar to the target audience to make the video as much like "real life" as possible; they should be realistic in terms of their relationships and language. Information should be given in an explicit manner. Essentially the teens called for:

1) appropriate language, especially in terms of slang
2) the use of credible sources that are of similar age to the target audience
3) multicultural characters
4) characters who have the same relationship issues as does the target audience
5) explicit information on transmission and prevention, including information on how drugs and alcohol are connected to HIV
6) explicit modeling of safer sex and needle sterilization techniques
7) AIDS in the context of other sexually transmitted diseases
8) a recognition of the tension in the boy/girl relationship

What seems to have emerged from this research is that these teenagers prefer realistic portrayals of their lives. Everything else seems to be subject to this general recommendation. Without being able to truly identify with the characters, much of the actual content of the stimulus video may have been lost on these teens.

It would seem that the successful HIV/AIDS video will be presented in the context of healthy, positive sexuality, where the teenagers are shown dealing with real life tensions in their relationships. In other words, sex should be presented as potentially rewarding and safe, but presented also within a realistic context that shows the decision to have sex to be difficult and consequential. In this way, the issues around HIV/AIDS can be shown to be complex but manageable.

Clearly, though, a sexual health education video is not a panacea. The problems in male/female roles are deeply rooted. They must be addressed on a massive scale. Society can not allow girls to continue to be pressured into unsafe sex. The prognosis for teenage girls like those in this study is frightening, unless both boys an girls can be taught to respect each other and each other's sexuality. It is our job as health videographers to address the salient points so effectively stated by the teens in this study. Though the study sample was extremely limited, and results cannot be generalized to a larger population, the study does tell us that we have to listen to members of the target audience and find out directly from them what they feel could be useful in educating them. In this way perhaps we can use the mass media to good effect to help the epidemic that threatens the future of so many people.

References

Bandura, A. (1977). Self-efficacy: Toward a unifying theory of behavioral change. Psychological Review, 84(2), 191-215

Basch, C.E. (1987). Focus group interview: An under utilized research technique for improving theory and practice in health education. Health Education Quarterly, 14(4), 441-448.

Brooks-Gunn, J., Boyer, C.B., & Hein, K. (1988). Preventing HIV infection and AIDS in children and adolescents. American Psychologist, 43(11), 958-964.

Centers for Disease Control (1988, October 24). Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) among Blacks and Hispanics - United States. Morbidity and Morality Weekly Review, 35(42), 646-658, 663-666.

Centers for Disease Control (1990, July 1). HIV/AIDS in racial/ethnic communities. Morbidity and Morality Weekly Review, 39(3), 3-6.

Centers for Disease Control (1997). HIV & AIDS trends: The changing landscape of the epidemic: A closer look. [on-line]. Available: Http://www.cdcnac.org/hivtrend.html#AIDS. [July, 1997].

Choi, K., & Coates, T.J. (1994). Prevention of HIV infection. AIDS, (10), 1371- 1389.

DeCarlo, P., VanOss Marin, B., Gomez, C., & Diaz, R. (1997). What are Latinos' HIV prevention needs? [on-line]. Available: Http://www.epibiostat.ucsf.edu/capsweb/latinotext.html. [July, 1997].

DiClemente, R.J., Boyer, C.B., & Mills, S.J. (1987). Prevention of AIDS among adolescents: Strategies for the development of comprehensive risk-reduction health education programs. Health Education Research, 2(3), 287-291.

DiClemente, R.J., Boyer, C.B., & Morales, E.S. (1988). Minorities and AIDS: Knowledge, attitudes, and misconceptions among Blacks and Latino adolescents. American Journal of Public Health, 78(1), 55-57.

DiClemente, R.J., Brown, L., Beausoleil, N.I., & Lodico, M. (1993). Comparison of AIDS knowledge and HIV - Related sexual risk behaviors among adolescents in low and high AIDS prevalence communities. Journal of Adolescent Health, 14, 231-236.

Dilley, J.W., Pies, C., & Helquist, M. (Eds.), (1989). Face to face: A Guide to AIDS counseling. San Francisco, AIDS Health Project.

Face to Face with AIDS (Video) (1990). New York: Select Media.

Ferris, J., (1991, November 10). Aids threat breaches Hispanic culture taboos. Contra Costa Times, p. 1A.

Flora, J.A., & Thoreson, C.E. (1988). Reducing the risk of AIDS in adolescents. American Psychologist, 42(11), 965-970.

Goldstien, M.J. (1959) The relationship between coping and avoiding behavior and response to fear-arousing behavior. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 58(2), 247-252.

Goodman, E., & Cohall, A.T. (1989). Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome and adolescents. Knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors in a New York City minority population. Pediatrics, 84(1), 36-42.

Haffner, D.W. (1988). The AIDS epidemic: Implications for the sexuality education of our youth. SEICUS Report, 16(6), 1-5.

Handsfield, H.H., & Jaffe, H.W. (1990). Epidemiology of AIDS and HIV infection in the United States. In K.K. Holmes, L. Corey, A.C. Collier, and H.H. Handsfield (Eds.), AIDS /Rx (pp. 1-15). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Hein, K. (1988). Adolescents at risk for HIV infection. In R.J. Clemente, (Ed.), Adolescents and AIDS: A generation in jeopardy. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Marin, G., & Marin, (1991). Researching with Hispanics. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Mays, V.M., & Cochran, S.D. (1988). Issues in the perception of AIDS risk and risk reduction activities by Black and Hispanic/Latina women. American Psychologist, 43(11), 949-957.

Miller, H.G., Turner, C.F., & Moses, L.E., (Eds.) (1990). AIDS, the second decade. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.

Navarro, M. (1990, July 31). Hispanic-Americans found ignorant about AIDS. New York Times.

O'Donnell, L., San Doval, A., Vornfett, R., & DeJong, W. (1994). Reducing AIDS and other STDs among inner-city Hispanics: The use of qualitative research in the development of video-based patient education. AIDS Education and Prevention, 6(2), 140-153.

Peterson, J.L., & Marin, G. (1988). Issues in the prevention of AIDS among Black and Hispanic men. American Psychologist, 43(11), 871-877.

Selik, R.M., Castro, K.G., & Pappaioanou, (1988). Racial/ethnic differences in the risk of AIDS in the United States. American Journal on Public Health, 78(12), 1539-1545.

Shalwitz, J., Dunningan, K. (1989). Young and HIV: No immunity. In J.W. Dilley, C. Pies, & M. Helquist (Eds), Face to face: A Guide to AIDS counseling. (pp. 249-259). San Francisco: AIDS Health Project.

SIDA is AIDS. (1988). Video produced by KCET; Los Angeles.

Strunin, L. & Hingson, R. (1987). Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome and adolescents: Knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, and behavior. Pediatrics, 79(5), 825-828.

World Health Organization (1995). The HIV/AIDS pandemic: 1994 overview. Geneva: WHO.

Use of Asian American History in the News Media: The Discourse of "Model Minority"

Chiung Hwang Chen
School of Journalism and Mass Communication
University of Iowa
Iowa city, IA 52242
chiung-chen@blue.weeg.uiowa.edu

Ethan Yorgason
Geography Department
University of Iowa
eyorgaso@blue.weeg.uiowa.edu

1997 AEJMC Conference
Chicago, IL
Minorities and Communication Division

Use of Asian American History in the News Media: The Discourse of "Model Minority"

After enduring a century of blatant racial discrimination and negative stereotypes (i.e. "yellow peril"), Asian Americans suddenly found themselves cast in a favorable light. Since the mid 1960s, the mainstream media have created the image of Asian Americans as the "model minority" by telling the economic success stories and educational achievements of Asian Americans. This paper uses what Bob H. Suzuki calls "the revisionist perspective," through which Asian American scholars have identified the misleading nature of this "positive" image of "model minority" and argued that Asian Americans, like other minority groups, continue to experience white racism, insidiously subtle in form.

The media's use of history in portraying minorities has received little attention from scholars. This paper focuses on the use of history in the American press's "model minority" discourse between the 1960s and the 1980s.[1] More specifically, the paper examines three issues. First, it looks at how the mainstream media create a single narrative to link the past and present. It argues that an Asian American past is constructed by the American mainstream news media to justify the discourse of the "model minority." Second, it addresses the use of this history and stereotype to maintain power relationships between dominant and minority groups and to perpetuate the status quo. Third, it explores how "model minority" discourse generates fear and racial hatred toward Asian Americans. The paper reveals continuity between "model minority" discourse and the "yellow peril" stereotype by arguing that in spite of implications that conditions have changed, Asian Americans are still rhetorically constructed as threats that must be contained.

A Narrative of Asian American History

Hans Kellner (1989) argues that historical events or "facts" contain little meaning in and of themselves. Through literary strategies, historians link events together and establish meanings. Meanings emerge in the course of the narrative trajectory through which writers present and combine facts (Greimas, 1987). Kellner claims that these meanings always derive from and relate to present social and political concerns. For Hayden White (1973), the number of devices historians use to establish meaning are limited. He argues that historians emplot their stories in the most conventional forms in order to direct attention away from literary strategies to the meaning of the story. Readers thus quickly recognize

---

[1]For the primary sources, about 25 articles between 1960 and 1989 from popular news magazines (such as Time and US News & World Report) and journals (such as Current) discussing the "model minority" or the successful image of Asian Americans were located.

the form of the story and draw upon lessons learned from other stories of the same form to find meaning. The poetics of narrative form, to White, allow readers to consider facts and interpretations plausible and adequate to each other (see also Mellard, 1987).

Journalists who use history are not much different from historians in these respects. In spite of an ideology of value-neutral empiricism, their stories carry political and ideological implications and rely on techniques used in fictional literature (González, 1993). If anything, the literary constraints on journalists are more severe than those on historians. Pressures to sell and the press's conceptualization of itself as a forum for public debate lead to stories with explicit relevance for present social/political concerns. The nature of the media also demands that journalists express their meaning quickly and succinctly. In any given story, journalists tend to signal that the story is of a certain recognizable form, and that its meaning is similar to others of the same form. "Facts" are molded within a limited number of what Olaksy (1991) calls "narrative frameworks" to satisfy editors and readers. While the ideology of journalistic objectivity obscures the political biases and power of the press, analysts have persuasively argued that journalistic procedures perpetuate dominant power relations and ideologies (Frus, 1994; Herman and Chomsky, 1988). Michael Schudson (1995) characterizes the situation well:

> Journalists . . . do not offer boys, forests, and lions raw, but cook them into story forms. News is not fictional, but it is conventional. Conventions help make messages readable. They do so in wasy that "fit" the social world of readers and writers . . . Like others, these conventions help make culturally consonant messages readable and culturally dissonant messages unsayable. Their function is less to increase or decrease the truth value of the messages they convey than to shape and narrow the range of what kinds of truths can be told. They reinforce certain assumptions about the political world (p. 55).

All narratives deal with the passage of time (Danow, 1997; Berger, 1997), and each narrative must begins somewhere. As Wald (1995) points out, this beginning "is neither natural nor arbitrary" but represents a choice with significant implications for the meaning of the story (p. 254, see also Kellner, 1989). Journalists locate the beginning of Asian American experience in past discriminatory laws and negative stereotypes. Newsweek (1982) writes: "Despite years of discrimination--much of it enforced by the federal government--the difficulties of acculturation and a recent backlash against their burgeoning numbers, Asian-Americans now enjoy the nation's highest median family income. . ." (December 6, p. 39). Journalists typically refer to labor conflict between Asian immigrants and whites, the exclusion laws and antimiscegenation practices in the early days, and wartime Japanese internment camps.

These "facts" posit an obstacle-filled past for Asian Americans and function as a marker from which to compare their "successful" present. The link between a tough past and a successful present, journalists imply, lies in the "hardworking" nature of Asian Americans. Thus the narrative possesses the following form: protagonist faces adversity --> protagonist ignores the adversity and works hard --> protagonist overcomes the adversity and achieves success.

This is no new story. The model minority narrative carries the same form and function as stories of poor, working-class boys in America who persevere and eventually become millionaires. The moral of this class of stories is that the American economic system works, and those who work hard enough will eventually succeed. The stories legitimate and naturalize a social system in which some face unbearable conditions while others live in ease and luxury. They imply that success naturally and necessarily results from overcoming difficult obstacles. The ideology is that one need not question the status quo, since opportunity exists for all within the system.

The (hi)story mobilized in model minority discourse functions in this same way. Although the history points to prejudices and oppressions perpetrated on Asian Americans, the ideological implications of the story remove these from any possibility of profound contemporary criticism. After all, the story of the model minority seems to say, the oppressions had no permanent impact and may have even served to induce greater success (Zinsmeister, 1988). In any event, past oppressions are naturalized as the understandable antagonisms that this pluralistic society has overcome. New oppressions are thus denied or their significance marginalized. White America is absolved from responsibility for contemporary Asian American/African American tension, for example. Even where journalists attempt to critique aspects of the model minority stereotype, their literary construction of Asian Americans as Horatio Alger heroes undermines alternative ideological implications (Petersen, 1966).

Since the model minority story pivots around perseverance of the protagonist (after facing and ignoring obstacles), efforts are made to discover the historical secret behind Asian Americans' "hard work" and "success." How, asks David Bell (1985) of The New Republic, was Asian Americans' success possible and how have they managed to avoid the "'second-class citizenship' that trapped so many blacks and Hispanics" (p. 30)? The results of the search for Asian Americans' secret efface any sense of contradictory and conflictive history and identity for Asian Americans, and marginalize them within American society. They also fan the flames of racial rivalry between various groups of non-whites.

In assessing the secret of Asian American achievements, the media use two contradictory arguments: one of cultural essentialism and one of assimilation. According to

the first, the present status of Asian Americans is the logical outcome of their unique Oriental characteristics. Newsweek (1984) claims, "The success of Asian Americans is rooted in a traditional reverence for learning in Asian culture, the fierce support of family . . ." (April 23, p. 77). Time (1987) echoes this essentialistic view, "[T]here is something in Asian culture that breeds success, perhaps Confucian ideals that stress family values and emphasize education" (August 31, p. 42). Journalists find scientific support for this view in studies, like those of sociologists George DeVos and Robert Bellah, that point to Asian frugality, diligence, and achievement orientation (Petersen, 1966).[2]

This concept blurs the distinction between Asians and Asian Americans. In explaining the "model minority" phenomenon, U.S. News & World Report (1984) cites Harold Stevenson's study which "has tested students in Japan, Taiwan, and Minneapolis and has found . . . Japanese and Taiwanese students do much better in math" (April 2, p. 41). This article falsely equates Japanese and Taiwanese students with Asian Americans; it also fails to indicate if any of the Minneapolis students were Asian Americans. The mainstream American media have thus decontextualized culture (removed it from time and space) and collapsed it into race. To this way of thinking, all people with Asian racial characteristics constitute a single type, no matter whether they lived in Asian countries 100 years ago or were born in the United States in 1980.

On the other hand, some argue that the key of Asian Americans' "success" is their ability to acculturate and assimilate into the dominant culture. The New Republic (1985) asks,

> [S]ince the war, fewer and fewer native-born Chinese-Americans have come to live in Chinatown but will complete assimilation follow? One study, at least, seems to indicate that it will, if one can look to the well-established Japanese-Americans for hints as to the future of other Asian groups. . . But can all Asian-Americans follow the prosperous, assimilationist Japanese example (July 22, p. 30)?

This article implies that in order to be "prosperous," Asian groups have to shake off traditional burdens, leave their own ethnic ghettos, and embrace the lifestyle of the dominant. The media further point out that intermarriage is used by Asian Americans as a

---

[2]Also see B. H. Suzuki (1977). He cites William Caudill and George DeVos' "Achievement, Culture and Personality: The Case of the Japanese Americans." (American Anthropologist. 1956 (58), 1102-26). They examined Japanese Americans in Chicago after their release from detention camps at the end of World War II. They concluded that Japanese cultural attributes, such as respect for authority and parental wishes, diligence, punctuality, cleanliness, neatness, self-discipline, and high-achievement motivation are viewed favorably by members of the majority group, particularly employers.

means for their "ultimate assimilation"[3]--to be Americanized or to become whites. In this light, what makes Asian Americans successful is neither Asian nor Asian American, but, as Newsweek (1982) claims, the "vanishing American values: thrift, strong family ties, sacrifice for the children"[4] (December 6, p. 39), or, as The New York Time Magazine (1966) puts it, "the Protestant ethic" (January 9, p. 41). By this token, Confucian philosophy is only a mirror image of the Western ethic; Asian culture is merely a reproduction of the Puritan tradition. Therefore, the model minority "is not only an ideal to be imitated, but an imitation of an ideal" (Won, 1994, p. 59).

Most of the news articles are written by white Americans for white readers. Both the cultural determinism and assimilation arguments construct a rigid distinction between "us" (Americans) and "them" (Asian Americans). For example, although Newsweek (1982) notes that Asian Americans are "often worried that they may be regarded as forever foreign" (December 6, p. 41), the press does little to make Asian Americans feel like they belong. Asian American are still treated as non-Americans. The article continues, "California's Silicon Valley, fighting the Japanese microchip challenge, *ironically* is heavily Asian--from the deft Indochinese and Indians who assemble circuits to company founders" [emphasis added] (p. 41). What allows Newsweek to find "irony" is the magazine's assumption that Asians in California who compete against Japanese businesses are not Americans but Asians. It is almost impossible to envision that the media would find white Americans competing against European businesses "ironic" (Nakayama, 1988).

Power Relationships and the Status Quo

As Osajima (1988) points out, the model minority story is far from a neutral construction. It carries profound political and ideological implications. Like other minority history, it sets out a "charter" for future action (Buckley, 1989). Using Foucualt's ideas on the social function of discursive practice, Nakayama (1988) asserts that the creation of the "model minority" in the mainstream media is an attempt by white Americans to maintain hegemony and to explain the "place" of minority groups in American society. In discussing Asian American achievements, the news media compare the Asian American past to Jewish and black experiences in the United States. The press points out that Asian Americans, like Jews, have been feared and hated as hyperefficient competitors in this

---

[3]"The Ultimate Assimilation" (1986). Newsweek (November 24), 80. Also see Winnick, L. (1990). America's "Model Minority." Assimilation is always portrayed (though not always explicitly stated) as Asian Americans becoming more like whites (never like blacks, Latinos, etc.).

[4]Wald (1995) argues that authors producing narratives of immigrant assimilation have long been preoccupied with protecting what they see as the traditional American family and proper gender roles.

country (Petersen, 1966). The news media create the same narrative form for both groups. Journalists claim that Jews and Asian Americans have broken through the barriers of prejudice and gone "from pariah to paragon status" in American society (Winnick, 1990, p. 25). The reason, according to mainstream journalists, is that the two groups not only "share a powerful belief in the value of hard work and a zealous regard for the role of the family" [Time, 1987 (August 31), p.42], but also are willing to "adapt to a predominant white culture" (Ramirez, 1986, p. 149).

Mainstream journalism's essentialistic view and/or assimilationist notion of the "success" of Asian Americans and Jews provide a direct critique of blacks and Latinos [or "the American poor," as Zinsmeister (1988) puts it] and are meant to show them the "acceptable way" to follow. Petersen (1966) of The New York Time Magazine notes that both blacks and Asian Americans have been objects of color prejudice. However, the difference between the two groups is that Asian Americans became "better than any other group in our society" while blacks, on the other hand, are "self-defeating" or "self-destructive" when "new opportunities, even equal opportunities, are opened up" (p. 21). Similarly, U.S. News & World Report (1966) writes:

> At a time when it is being proposed that hundreds of billions be spent to uplift Negroes and other minorities, the nation's 300,000 Chinese-Americans are moving ahead on their own--with no help from anyone else . . . Few Chinese-Americans are getting welfare handouts--or even want them. . . Not all Chinese-Americans are rich. Many, especially recent arrivals from Hong Kong, are poor and cannot speak English. But the large majority are moving ahead by applying the traditional virtues of hard work, thrift and morality (December 26, p. 73).

Ignoring the inequalities in American society, these articles seem to argue that any problems stem from different cultural values or failures of individual effort. If Asian Americans can make it, why can't blacks and Latinos? This attitude not only poses a danger of ranking races by innate, genetic abilities (Ramirez, 1986) or cultural characteristics, but also uncritically accepts the "conventional wisdom" that poor people are lazy and not willing to work hard (U. S. News & World Report, 1966).

The "model minority" thesis also legitimates status-quo institutions. Or, as Buckley (1989) argues in a different context, ethnic history is used to uphold particular views of power and to place blame on one's opponents. As Time (1987) reports, "The largely successful Asian American experience is a challenging counterpoint to the charges that U.S. schools are now producing less-educated mainstream students and failing to help underclass blacks and Hispanics" (August, 31, p. 51). The magazine cites educational historian Diane Ravitch, "It really doesn't matter where you come from or what your

language is. If you arrive with high aspirations and self-discipline, schools are a path to upward mobility" (p. 51). The educational system and other social institutions are therefore legitimized and valorized in the discourse of the "model minority." In other words, the minorities' problems with the system reside not within the system, but within the minorities. The opportunity for success is open to everyone; even "the least-wanted immigrants," to borrow Winnick's phrase (1990), have already made it.

"Model minority" history serves as a metaphor for American history in a period when many wanted to counteract emerging doubts that America represented social progress. Newsweek's claim (quoted previously) that Asian Americans provide "vanishing American values: thrift, strong family ties, sacrifice for the children," is evidence that the meaning of American history is as much at stake in model minority discourse as the meaning of Asian American history. According to this view, Americans overcome obstacles and achieve success through failure to feel satisfied, hard work, and respect for existing social and political structures. The 1960s civil rights movement and the economic decline of the 1980s could have provided reasons for both the public and government to ponder the structural problems in American society. Asian American success stories in the press, however, created an image that the United States is indeed the land of opportunity, and thus offered an ideological affirmation of the American Dream. By describing Asian Americans' reputed qualities as those most singularly American, news media accounts imply an approved form of American citizenship. Fortune (1986) reports that Asian American managers are "convinced, in the best American tradition, that with brains, ambition, and hard work they will win," (Ramirez, p. 152). By implication, those who do not seem to conform to this view (by virtue of their non-"success") do not belong, or have not fully caught the spirit of America.

The discursive formation of model minority is also used by those with power in society as a means to homogenize and then control Asian Americans. Although journalists note the many home-nationalities of Asian Americans, when racial politics is the issue, they often homogenize all Asian Americans into a single ethnic group and ignore cultural and individual differences. For example, the elements of Asian American history most often cited to by the press have more application to some Asian Americans than to others. Newly arrived immigrants have little, if anything, to do with wartime interment camps or nineteenth-century exclusion laws. Yet since the "model minority" appellation depends on an obstacle-laden past, events of a century ago are cited as relevant to all Asian Americans' experiences. This homogenization also suggests that since they have statistically overcome poverty, Asian Americans no longer constitute a disadvantaged minority group. Therefore,

all Asian Americans should be denied affirmative action and welfare entitlements, regardless of individual situation and social class.

With this economic "success," the social status of Asian Americans has rapidly changed from "just like blacks" to "near white." As a model, Asian Americans are encouraged to be "good examples" for other minorities, to avoid making trouble. This scheme prohibits Asian Americans from pursuing their political rights. The depiction of Asian Americans as "safe" and "harmless," feminizes Asian Americans as a group by silencing them and keeping them in obedient, submissive, and docile positions. As Lisa Lowe (1991) points out, the construction of Asian Americans as a homogeneous group has contributed to stabilizing the hegemonic relationship between "dominant" and "minority" positions. In this country people are grouped primarily according to their race; this kind of grouping produces barriers among races. She argues that within a politics based on ethnic identity, Asian Americans are deprived of the opportunity to work with other minority groups to change the power relations within society (Lowe, 1991).

The Return of the Yellow Peril

A significant feature of stories about minorities is that, more than most stories, they convey a sense of threat or unresolved problem (van Dijk, 1993). In spite of the ostensibly positive portrayal of Asian-Americans in model minority discourse, Asian Americans often are portrayed as threats. News stories often connect Asian Americans' "model minority" present to their "yellow peril" past to show how attitudes toward the group have changed. But the threat that Asian Americans pose to society according to news stories shows that the two stereotypes are not so different.

The notions of yellow peril and model minority, although at apparent disjunction, form a circular, seamless continuum (Okihiro, 1994). They each contain elements that can be used to both support and threaten dominant power relations. Okihiro (1994) argues that "while the yellow peril threatens white supremacy, it also bolsters and gives coherence to a problematic construction: the ideal of a unitary "white" identity. Similarly, although the model minority fortifies the status quo, it also poses a challenge to the relationship of majority over minority" (p. 141). As the New York Times Magazine reports, "By any criterion of good citizenship that we choose, the Japanese Americans are better than any other groups in our society, including native-born whites" (Petersen, 1966, p. 21). Asian Americans are seen to embody American values better than any other group. Many thus worry that Asian American "success" can "imperil the order of race relations when the margins lay claim to the privileges of the mainstream" (Okihiro, 1994, p. 141). No

wonder Ridley Scott's Blade Runner, a science-fiction movie that plays on the fear of Asians "taking over," is praised by critics for its realism (Bell, 1985).

This fear originates from the fear of the "yellow peril." Under the pen of Marco Polo, Mongolian soldiers were described as

> brave in battle . . . They are capable of supporting every kind of privations, and when there is a necessity for it, can live for a month on the milk of their mares . . . The men are habituated to remain on horseback during two days and two nights without dismounting; sleeping in that situation whilst their horses graze . . . No people upon earth can surpass them in fortitude under difficulties, nor show greater patience under wants of every kind. They are perfectly obedient to their chiefs, and are maintained at small expense."[5]

The fear of the "yellow peril" returns subtly in media accounts, even in those, like Bell (1985), which seem to critique the stereotype. The model minority, like Mongolian soldiers, can work and study too much ["They consistently worked 15 to 18 hours a day," The New Republic (Bell, 1985, p. 30) writes]; they have patience and endurance. Asian workers and students are able to maintain themselves at little expense and are almost robot-like; they labor and study for hours on end without human needs for relaxation, fun, and pleasure (Zinsmeister, 1988). Asian Americans' group loyalty also glues them together to form a "racial bloc;" thereby they "flood" American markets and displace workers, "flood" American schools and displace students, and "flood" American land with concentrations of Chinatowns, Japantowns, Koreatowns, Little Saigons, Manilatowns (Okihiro, 1994, p. 141). The immigration history of this "model minority" is cited to describe a "wave that shows little sign of subsiding," producing an "exploding" population, with "huge backlogs of future Asian Americans" waiting in the wings, held back only by U. S. immigration policy (Bell, 1985, p. 24).

The yellow peril represents a masculine threat of military and sexual conquest; the model minority, on the other hand, symbolizes a feminized position of passivity and malleability. Like yin and yang, they are actually the two sides of a single concept. The model minority seems to mitigate the alleged militaristic danger of the yellow peril. Yet, if taken too far, the model minority becomes the yellow peril. Therefore, "models" can be "perils" and "perils" "models", despite their apparent incongruity (Okihiro, 1994). Not much has changed since the days when Robert Park claimed that "the difficulty is that [the Asian American is] still less disposed than the Negro . . . to submit to the regulations of a

---

[5]Travels of Marco Polo, p. 128. Quoted in Okihiro (1994), p. 119-120.

caste system and to stay in his place."[6] Insofar as Asian Americans refuse to stay in their place, Okihiro argues, they threaten the dominant by posing perils of body (the yellow peril) and mind (the model minority). To maintain and justify its power, the dominant group must repress Asian Americans on one hand and feminize them on the other (Okihiro, 1994). Both "model minority" and "yellow peril" stereotypes function to contain Asian Americans in "their place."

As Dates and Barlow (1990) assert, racial representations in the media help to mold public opinion on the race issue. Wilson and Gutierrez (1995) also point out that in the absence of alternative portrayals and broadened coverage, one-side portrayals and news articles can easily become reality in the minds of the audience. Praise for Asian American "success" in the press has stimulated a spirit of competition and jealousy; it generates a new wave of anti-Asian sentiment, from both whites and other minority groups. In schools, Asian American students are denounced by their classmates as unfair competitors and "curve-wreckers," and pelted with racial slurs (Takaki, 1989; Okihiro, 1994; and Osajima, 1988). Newsweek On Campus (1984), for example, explicitly mentions that the growing number of Asian students in universities are resented by white students, who feel threatened. It reports stories of white students dropping courses if there were "too many Oriental faces" (April, p. 4-8).

The notion that Asian Americans' academic "success" constitutes a potential threat is sometimes expressed in more subtle forms. Butterfield (1986) of New York Times Magazine describes Asian Americans as "surging into the nation's best colleges like a tidal wave" (August 3, p. 24). An article in The New Republic (Bell, 1985) reports, "The figure is now 10%--five times their share of the population" (July 22, p. 26). In these cases, Asian American "success" is discussed in almost alarmist tones, reminiscent of when "hordes" of Asians "threatened" California in the late 1800s. Therefore many cry for a quota system to limit the "over-representation" of Asian Americans in elite universities.

On and off campuses anti-Asian feelings sometimes turn violent. Jobless white autoworkers murder a Chinese American whom they call a "Jap" and blame for their predicament (Takaki, 1989). And African American rappers give words to sentiment (encourage violence?) against Asian Americans:

> Everytime I wanna go get a fucking brew
> I gotta go down to the store with a tool
> Oriental ones (can you count) mother-fuckers

---

[6]Park, R. E. (1917). Introduction to Jesse Frederick Steiner's book, The Japanese Invasion: A study in the Psychology of Inter-racial Contacts. pp. xiv. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. Quoted in Okihiro (1994), p. 147.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

They make a nigger mad enough to cause a ruckus
Thinking every brother in the world's on the take
So they watch every damn move that I make
They hope I don't pull out a gat and try to rob
their funky little store, but bitch, I gotta job.
So don't follow me up and down your market
Or your little chop-suey ass will be a target
Of the nationwide boycott
Choose with the people
That's what the boy got
So pay respect to the Black fist
Or we'll burn down your store, right down to a crisp
And then we'll see you
'Cause you can't turn the ghetto into Black Korea.[7]

Many frustrated and oppressed Americans have limited power to direct their anger at the system or those who hold the most power within it. Asian Americans' "success" makes them scapegoats for African American and poor-white despair.

Conclusion: The Case for a Deconstructive Impulse

According to Fiske and Hartley, news myths encompass symbolic cultural meanings that go beyond the literal, connotative meanings of news stories.[8] The model minority stereotype is a prime example. Asian American history as constructed by the press serves a conservative ideological agenda and promotes a racial politics based on fear. Asian Americans are seen to provide a "model" of self-help for dealing with social ills, but their continuing "minority" status marks them as people to be feared and closely watched. The meaning assigned to Asian American history generates anti-Asian American sentiment and condemns "less successful" minorities. White racism sees a threat in Asian Americans' "success" and generates fear of Asian Americans. To maintain status-quo institutions and power relationships between dominant and minority, the media have created a model minority discourse. The discourse keeps Asian Americans in their "place," produces hatred toward Asian Americans, and pits minority groups against one another. Such racism originates from homogenizing people of one race and setting them against other races. Lisa Lowe (1991) suggests that deconstructing racism and destabilizing the power dynamics in American society means that ethnic labels (i.e. "model minority") need to be removed. Minorities need not use ethnicity as their only identity. Rather, they can diversify their cultural experiences and search for more commonalities among supposedly distinct groups. By heterogenizing themselves and working together, minorities create a counter-hegemony

---

[7]"Black Korea," by Ice Cube (O'Shea Jackson), from the album Death Certificate. Priority Records, 1992. Quoted in Okihiro (1994), p. 31.

[8]Fiske, J. & Hartley, J. (1978). Reading Television. London: Methusen. Cited in Campbell (1995), p. 15.

based on different understandings of identity politics and challenge the current power relationships between dominant and minority.

The news media could valuably incorporate a heightened cognizance of how literary strategies create meaning and carry ideological implications as part of this deconstructive impulse. Clearly, journalists will continue to use strategies that draw upon well-established stories to create meaning. But they could do so more knowledgeably and with greater awareness of the implications of their literary choices. Narratives unavoidably fix points of meaning that facilitate the establishment of some types of social relations and restrict the establishment of other types. As Mumby (1993) points out, journalists' rhetorical decisions are never socially neutral. As a result, journalists need to be aware of the power of narratives (Berger, 1997), and avoid propounding narratives with harmful connotations. A deconstructive impulse implies a willingness to identify stereotypes and construct stories with alternate meanings to re-place those stereotypes; journalists can shift the boundaries of social labels and create different (hi)stories through which to portray a group of people. By constructing new narratives that challenge the stability of received knowledge (Mumby, 1993), journalists will live up to their self-styled image as mukrakers, rather than unwittlingy perpetuate the status quo.

References

A Drive to Excel (1984). Newsweek On Campus (April), 4-8.

A Formula for Success (1984). Newsweek (April 23), 77-78.

Asian-Americans: A 'Model Minority' (1982). Newsweek (December 6), 39-42, 51.

Asian Americans: Are They Making the Grade? (1984). U.S. News & World Report (April 2), 41-43, 46.

Bell, D. A. (1985). The Triumph of Asian-Americans. The New Republic (July 15/22), 24-32.

Berger, A. A. (1997). Narratives in Popular Culture, Media, and Everyday Life. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Buckley, A. (1989). 'We are trying to find our identity': uses of history among Ulster Protestants. In History and Ethnicity. Elizabeth Tonkin, Maryon McDonald, and Malcolm Chapman (Eds.) pp. 183-184. New York: Routledge.

Butterfield, F. (1986). Why Asians Are Going to the Head of the Class. New York Times Magazine (August 3), 24.

Campbell, C. P. (1995). Race, Myth and the News. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Dates, J. L., & Barlow, W. (1990). Split Image: African Americans in the Mass Media. Washington, DC: Howard University Press.

Danow, D. K. (1997). Models of Narrative: Theory and Practice. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Frus, P. (1994). The Politics and Poetics of Journalistic Narrative: The Timely and the Timeless. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

González, A. (1993). Journalism and the Development of Spanish American Narrative. Cambridge: Cambrige University Press.

Greimas, A. J. (1987). On Meaning. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press.

Herman, E. & Chomsky, N. (1988). Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media. New York: Pantheo.

Kellner, H. (1989). Language and Historical Representation: Getting the Story Crooked. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Lowe, L. (1991). Heterogeneity, Hybridity, Multiplicity: Marking Asian American Differences. Diaspora (Spring).

Mellard, J. M. (1987). Doing Tropology. Chamgpaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Mumby, D. K. (1993). Introduction: Narrative and Social Control. In Dennis K. Mumby. Narrative and Social Control: Critical Perspectives. (Ed.) pp. 1-12. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Nakayama, T. K. (1988). "Model Minority" and the Media: Discourse on Asian America. Journal of Communication Inquiry. 12 (1), 65-73.

The New Whiz Kids: Why Asian Americans Are Doing So Well, and What It Costs Them (1987). Time (August 31), 42-51.

Okihiro, G. Y. (1994). Margins and Mainstreams: Asians in American History and Culture. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Olasky, M. (1991). Central Ideas in the Development of American Journalism: A Narrative History. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Osajima, K. (1988). Asian Americans as the Model Minority: An Analysis of the Popular Press Image in the 1960s and 1980s. In G. Y. Okihiro, S. Hune, A. Hansen, and J. M. Liu. Reflections on Shattered Windows: Promises and Prospects for Asian American Studies. (Eds.) pp. 165-174. Pullman, WA: Washington University Press.

Oxnam, R. B. (1986). Why Asians Succeed Here. New York Time Magazine (November 30), 72-74, 88-89.

Petersen, W. (1966). Success Story: Japanese American Style. The New York Time Magazine (January 9), 20-21, 33, 36, 38-41, 43.

Ramirez, A. (1986). America's Super Minority. Fortune (November 24), 148-149, 152, 156, 160-161.

Schudson, M. (1995). The Power of News. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Success Story of One Minority Group in U.S. (1966). U.S. News & World Report (December 26), 73-76.

Suzuki, B. H. (1977). Education and the Socialization of Asian Americans: A Revisionist Analysis of the "Model Minority" Thesis. Amerasia Journal 4 (2), 23-51.

Takaki, R. (1989). Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans. New York: Penguin Books.

"The Ultimate Assimilation": Asian Intermarriage, Once Taboo, Is on the Rise (1986). Newsweek (November 24), 80.

van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Stories and Racism. In Narrative and Social Control: Critical Perspectives. Dennis K. Mumby (Ed.) pp. 121-142. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Wald, P. (1995). Constituting Americans: Cultural Anxiety and Narrative Form. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

White, H. (1973). Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Wilson, C. II & Gutierrez, F. (1995). Race, Multiculturalism, and the Media: From Mass to Class Communication, 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Winnick, L. (1990). America's "Model Minority." Commentary, 90 (2), 22-29.

Won, Y. J. (1994). "Model Minority" Strategy and Asian-Americans' Tactics. Korea Journal. 34 (2), 57-66.

Zinsmeister, K. (1988). Asians and Blacks: Bittersweet Success. Current (February), 9-16.

No Racism Here:
News Coverage of the Desegregation of the University of Alabama

Jim Sernoe
Midwestern State University
B110 Fain Fine Arts Center
Wichita Falls, Texas 76308-2099
940-397-4391
e-mail: fsernoej@nexus.mwsu.edu

Presented at the
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication conference,
Minorities and Communication Division,
August 1997, Chicago

"Many people do not remember the details of history but they do develop images and emotions about past events."

–Joel Spring, 1990, page 3

INTRODUCTION

Even though average citizens have many outlets of knowledge available, most do not seek information beyond what is available in the mainstream mass media. Thus, what is reported in the mass media helps millions of people form the images and emotions Spring described. Mass media thus become not only knowledge disseminators, but also institutions where meaning is made. As Park said, news is "one of the earliest and most elementary forms of knowledge" (1940, page 682).

While this idea is important in understanding any type of stereotype or distortion in news reporting (or any mass-mediated images, such as those in film or popular music), it is crucial to examine the ways in which issues involving race are reported. For many white, middle-class Americans, the images presented in the mass media are the only contact they will have with members of other racial groups. These images then help readers and viewers to form their opinions of "the other" (Dahlgren and Chakrapani, 1982).

This paper examines news coverage of Autherine Lucy's enrollment at the University of Alabama in 1956. The university had admitted Lucy in compliance with the Supreme Court's Brown v. Board of Education decision from 1954, and although the law guaranteed her right to be there, she encountered many obstacles. Although some Southern universities had begun to accept black students, Lucy's enrollment was

the first in the "Deep South" states of Mississippi, Alabama or Georgia.

CONCEPTUAL BASES

The mass media help shape images of history in two ways. First, they serve the well-known "agenda-setting" function, meaning they often decide what will be at the forefront of political debate through what they choose to print or broadcast. As Gray wrote, "Media do more than simply reflect and describe significant events; they engage, select, define, and label certain events and actors as important, while they exclude and ignore others" (1987, page 381).

Second, the mass media "frame" issues so that the parameters of the debate are set (Gitlin, 1980). Gitlin explained frames as follows:

> At each moment the world is rife with events. Even within a given event there is an infinity of noticeable details. Frames are principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters . . . Media frames, largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the world both for journalists who report it and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports. Media frames are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual. (pages 6 and 7)

These frames are unavoidable because they "enable journalists to process large amounts of information quickly and routinely: to recognize it as information, to assign it to cognitive categories, and to package it for efficient relay to their audiences" (page 7). At the same time, those in positions of power also use frames the same way in order to

understand their world. That concept is important to this study because the frames of understanding used by powerful Americans tend to be reproduced in the news. This idea makes journalists unavoidably subjective, even though "objectivity" is a supposed staple of the news industry.

Gitlin also said the fact that journalists must choose frames – and the way they choose frames – is also important: "A news story adopts a certain frame and rejects or downplays material that is discrepant. A story is a choice, a way of seeing an event that also amounts to a way of screening from sight" (pages 49 and 51). By omitting "discrepant" material, the news upholds the status quo and excludes alternate and often controversial information. As a series of isolated facts becomes a continuing story, a frame must be assigned. The frame is constructed using the standards imposed by the status quo and often fits into the established ways of viewing the world. However, as Gitlin also noted, stories that do not fit neatly into the accepted reality can be channeled into frames that convey some sort of deviance.

SELECTED LITERATURE REVIEW

Many studies have examined news coverage of African-Americans in general (see Dates, 1990, and Wilson and Gutiérrez, 1985 and 1995, for examples). However, few studies have looked at the intersections of race, education and news coverage; and most that have examined news coverage of integration efforts focused on the primary and secondary levels.

Although not a scholarly examination, Levenson and Princiotto (1964) debated

coverage of desegregation efforts in Cleveland from the perspectives of superintendent of schools and newspaper editor. They agreed that coverage in the city's news media was poor and full of holes, but they disagreed over the reasons. Levenson argued that news reporters were poorly prepared to cover the story because they lacked historical perspective, while Princiotto replied that newspapers cannot always accurately speculate as to a story's importance and therefore devote adequate resources.

This lack of perspective was criticized in two studies from 1976. Grant's research looked specifically at the ways the news media covered integration efforts, concluding that the coverage was superficial and did not delve into deeper issues, most likely because reporters lacked the knowledge to do so. A broad report on several aspects of the desegregation effort, "School Desegregation: The Continuing Challenge," noted that reporters lacked not only adequate historical perspective, but also sufficient understanding of government and race relations.

Weinberg and Martin (1976) examined coverage of integration efforts in several cities and spent a good deal of their study discussing the ways in which news reports can shape attitudes and play a role in bringing about constructive change. At the same time, they criticized reporters and coverage that lacked background in the legal, historical and sociological underpinnings of the integration issue.

A conference paper examining desegregation in Tampa praised the news media in that region for its coverage, noting that stereotypes were rare and that the reporters tended not to sensationalize the conflicts (Shelton, 1976).

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In 1952, the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa to admitted its first black students, Autherine J. Lucy and Polly Anne Myers Hudson. When they arrived to register and it was discovered that they were African-American, they were denied admission. This denial led to a series of court decisions and appeals, until finally the women were admitted in late 1955. Hudson was later denied admission because of what the university called "conduct and marital status" – she was pregnant and not married when she applied for admission (she later married and divorced the father). These events occurred in the context of the 1954 Supreme Court decision, Brown v. Board of Education, which declared segregated schools unconstitutional and ordered Southern states to integrate the schools. By the time Lucy enrolled in February 1956, some Southern universities had begun to desegregate, and some states had begun desegregating the public schools. Key events during the next 13 months included:

Date	Event
February 1, 1956	Autherine Lucy registered for classes but was denied dormitory and dining room services.
February 3, 1956	She attended her first classes and inspired little reaction.
February 4, 1956	The first protest occurred after a basketball game.
February 6, 1956	A major, all-day protest occurred on her third day of classes, with students and townspeople chanting, throwing eggs and rocks, and surrounding the buildings in which she took classes. She was finally taken away by the Alabama Highway Patrol.

Key Events – Continued

Date	Event
February 6, 1956	The university board of trustees suspended her for what they termed her own safety.
February 7, 1956	She asked for immediate reinstatement, calling the suspension a "subterfuge" for keeping her out based on her race.
February 9, 1956	She filed a claim in District Court against the trustees, some administrators and some protesters for conspiring to keep her out. She also sued the trustees and administrators for contempt of court and asked for immediate reinstatement and access to dormitory and dining facilities.
February 10, 1956	A pro-segregation rally, with an estimated 10,000 people, was held in Montgomery.
February 16, 1956	University President Oliver Carmichael held two all-campus meetings for students and faculty, urging them to abide by the law and to remain calm.
February 17, 1956	More than 1,000 people attended a pro-segregation rally in Tuscaloosa. A student, Leonard Wilson, was chosen temporary president of the West Alabama Citizens' Council. He had also led several of the campus protests.
February 20, 1956	A petition signed by more than 500 students demanded Lucy's immediate reinstatement. The petition was widely praised and criticized.
February 29, 1956	District Court Judge H. Hobart Grooms, who had ordered Lucy and Hudson admitted in 1955, ordered Lucy reinstated as of March 5. He made no ruling on her demand for access to facilities, and charges of contempt and conspiracy were dropped. The university protested that it did not have a chance to rebuff the conspiracy charges, even though they were dropped.
March 1, 1956	The university permanently expelled Lucy for making "untrue" and "outrageous" accusations.

Key Events – Continued

Date	Event
January 18, 1957	Judge Grooms ruled that the university was justified in expelling Lucy.
March 26, 1957	Lucy announced that she would not pursue further court action to be reinstated at Alabama and would instead enroll at the University of Texas at Austin, which had been desegregated for several years.

RESEARCH STRATEGIES

The research questions for this paper are:

- What themes and patterns can be found in the coverage of Autherine Lucy's enrollment at the University of Alabama in 1956?
- Did the coverage present distorted images?
- Were existing stereotypes being upheld? Were new images being created? Were efforts to achieve equality portrayed as "deviant"?
- Are there any lessons for today's news media in this coverage?

This paper examines the coverage of the events of February 1956 through March 1957 in the New York Times. Obviously, it is not possible to include all types of mass media, or even all newspapers. Although many researchers choose the Times, it was chosen for this study because historically it has been an industry leader and reaches a national audience. Its influence is felt across the news industry, with many other news organizations, including the four major television networks, using it to help determine the day's news. In addition, the Times covered this case heavily, especially during the first two months, and editorialized on it as well (three editorials

within a week during February 1956). While the criticism that choosing the Times cannot account for regional differences is valid on one level, it is not an important distinction. Editors and reporters across the country operate on the same professional standards, using the same definitions of news, and work under the same constraints. Thus, choosing another newspaper would not be likely to alter the results, except perhaps when looking at editorials and letters to the editor.

The items were chosen through listings in the Times annual index between February 1956, when Lucy began attending classes, and March 1957, when the expulsion order was upheld in court. Even though the case technically began in 1952, these time limits were enacted because the major coverage of the event began with her actual enrollment in 1956. As Table 1 shows, coverage dropped significantly after March 1956, even though the episode continued. All relevant categories were examined, including various names (e.g., Lucy, Carmichael) and categories (e.g., Colleges and Universities, Negro Education). In order to be included in the sample, an item had to mention the name of at least one key player (e.g., Lucy, Carmichael, Wilson, Alabama Governor James Folsom) or address the issue directly. As a result, several related articles – on the Montgomery bus boycott that was occurring at the same time and reaction to the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 decision – were eliminated. While coverage of these topics might influence a reader's views of the Lucy case, it would be indirectly.

The study thus covered a total of 143 items, including articles, editorials, letters to the editor, editorial cartoons and photographs (see Table 1). Of these items, 17 articles and one photograph appeared on page 1, with four of them being placed at the top of

the page. Included in this total are a report run in New York Times Magazine in February 1956, letters to the editor in response to that report, and a special section on desegregation in the South from March 1956. Although all items were examined, this paper concentrates on articles and editorials.

This study is a textual analysis, not a traditional content analysis. While content is being analyzed, the method does not involve the traditional approach of devising categories and counting how many articles meet the criteria for each categorization. Instead, textual analysis leads the researcher to find themes, patterns and frames prevalent in a selected group of texts. Many mass communication researchers use quantitative methods to analyze uses and effects of mass media; however, qualitative analysis is necessary in this case because it is a linguistic, not statistical, sample. Applying statistical methods in a study like this would not be appropriate; thus textual analysis, as found in landmark studies by Gitlin (1980) and Said (1981), among others, was chosen.

Insert Table 1 Here

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Three major frames were found in the sample, some of which had subgroups. These major frames included:

- The overwhelming denial of racism.
- The idea that the university was not at fault.
- The idea that the entire episode was a major disturbance.

Together, these frames helped uphold the status quo in two ways. By denying the role of racism in the case, the coverage perpetuated the myth that the United States was a nation with full equality for all. Acknowledging racism would have destroyed this belief. Also, the Times upheld existing institutions (e.g., the university, segregation) by leading the reader to believe the university was not at fault and by portraying the case as a disturbance or a deviation.

Denial of Racism

The Times denied that racism had anything to do with the case and instead attributed the problems to Autherine Lucy's desire to enroll. It also framed the issue as a legal problem, not a moral problem, linked to Alabama's legal and social tradition of segregation. It reinforced this image with constant reminders that those in charge were surprised at the disturbances and did not expect trouble when Lucy enrolled. The word "racism" appeared only in letters to the editor, which were written by people outside of the Times. Quotes, including those by African-Americans, never contained the word, and it is difficult to believe it was not used. Although a reporter is not supposed to

make up quotes, he or she does have the power to choose which quotes are used and how others are paraphrased. An example of this concept comes from a February 11* article about a pro-segregation rally:

> . . . several of the speakers tried to make the point that their demand for segregation did not mean discrimination against the Negro. (page 38)

The Times framed this denial in three ways: blaming Autherine Lucy for the problems instead of blaming them on whites' racism; portraying the issue in legal, not moral, terms; and expressing a surprise at the resistance Lucy encountered.

Blaming Autherine Lucy Instead of Whites' Racism

Instead of blaming racism, the Times implicitly blamed Lucy for the trouble. While never saying she brought the trouble on herself, the coverage tended to place her – and not the racism of whites – at the heart of the problems. While not blatant, the following passage from an analysis piece on February 12, is typical:

> The central figure in the outburst of mob violence at the University of Alabama this week is a 26-year-old Negro girl named Autherine Lucy . . . (section IV, page 8)

A later article on the case's effects on Alabama unions explained that race relations were "peaceful" before her enrollment but now were shaky. Although the races were

*All items referred to in this section are from 1956, unless otherwise noted.

still segregated among the unions, wages and working conditions were "equal."

However, the Times noted,

> The Autherine Lucy case, by arousing racial passions, threatens both this system and the union leaders who have worked to create it . . . (February 26, page 48)

A third example is similar to the preceding example in denying not only the current racism, but also the racism that has developed historically. A several-page exposé in the February 26 New York Times Magazine carried this subheadline:

> The case of Autherine Lucy has produced an upwelling of hatred in an Alabama city – and fear about the next development in this key desegregation fight (page 9)

This article portrayed the city as entirely calm and full of equality before Lucy's enrollment, while providing several blatant denials of racism and implications that Lucy had caused her own problems:

> When Miss Lucy finally did win admission she showed up here riding in a Cadillac with some prominent Birmingham Negroes. She was fashionably and tastefully dressed – too much so for this informal campus. She was hustled ahead of waiting white students to complete her registration. She was accompanied everywhere by photographers and newsmen. And she paid her tuition with a crisp $100 bill from her purse.
>
> The result of all this was to create a basis of hostility toward Miss Lucy. (page 48)

Another example:

> They (protesters) were not united by any general hostility toward Negroes. (page 48) (my parentheses)

This pattern was especially prevalent after the expulsion. A glaring example from the article summarizing her expulsion noted that "[h]er attendance for several days had provoked a mob attack against her" (March 2, page 14). In later stories, after the coverage had decreased, journalists needed to label her. Journalistic practice in continuing stories is to lead with the newest information, followed by a few paragraphs summarizing past events to put the new information in context. In this case, Lucy was often labeled as the person who caused riots, as in these passages from an April 23 article about her wedding:

> Miss Autherine Lucy, whose enrollment as the University of Alabama's first Negro student touched off campus riots, was married today . . .
>
> . . . after her appearance had caused student riots. (page 19)

The wording ignores the fact that whites' racism was the cause of the riots.

A very unusual, yet glaring, example of blaming Lucy was found in an article about her parents (February 26, page 50). The headline says, "PARENTS DISOWN MISS LUCY'S FIGHT," and the article tells of her parents' disapproval of the trouble she was said to be causing.

Only letters to the editor and two quotes identified racism as the cause of the problems. One letter called the case "a disgusting example of race discrimination and persecution" (February 10, page 10). Both quotes occurred much later during the

controversy. The first, from Autherine Lucy, was in the second to last paragraph of an article on her application for enrollment in Fall 1956:

> "I was born and raised in Alabama," she declared. "The University of Alabama is a tax-supported college. I feel I should be able to go to the University of Alabama and that other Negroes should have that right." (March 10, page 14)

The second quote involved a pro-civil rights rally held in New York City:

> Tallulah Bankhead, an actress who was born in Alabama, said it was "disgraceful" even that such a rally had to be held. She blamed it on "bigoted, stupid people who had outraged democracy." (May 25, page 8)

A Legal, not Moral, Issue

The Times failed to recognize her right to enroll as a moral issue, choosing instead to uphold the Alabama leaders' frame that it was a legal issue. Article after article quoted University of Alabama President Oliver Carmichael, Governor James Folsom and even President Eisenhower (who called the events "a defiance of law"), all of whom referred to the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 ruling calling for integration. Carmichael was especially adamant in avoiding the moral issue, often simply saying he would abide by what the courts said. The following passages from February 17 illustrate this idea:

> The president of the University of Alabama told a tense meeting of students and faculty today that "no great university can afford to defy the laws of the land." (page 1)
>
> Dr. Oliver C. Carmichael told the convocation the university . . . must yield to the court's decree. (page 1)

The editorials also framed the issue this way, even though the editorial section would seem the perfect forum for promoting the moral side of racial equality. For example, the first editorial on the subject, on February 6, praised the university and governor for

> bowing to a Federal court decision that the university could not bar Negroes because of their race. (page 22)

A later article carried the headline "ALABAMA TO HEED COURTS ON TAKING NEGRO STUDENTS" (March 4, page 1).

An article in the Times' "Week in Review" not only framed the issue as a legal one, but also ignored the university's racism:

> The university's long fight against Miss Lucy had been made on legal grounds – Alabama law forbids racial integration in all public schools. (February 12, section IV, page 1)

The Times often repeated the fact that Lucy's initial enrollment and short-lived reinstatement were "court ordered."

Other than the letter to the editor and quotes noted earlier, Lucy's moral right to attend the University of Alabama was not mentioned.

Surprise at Resistance

Another way of denying the racism involved was to express surprise at the resistance to Lucy's enrollment. Expecting resistance would imply that racism was intact. It is important to note that no African-American sources expressed surprise;

only whites in positions of authority did so.

For example, Carmichael was quoted several times as being " 'completely surprised and disappointed' by the protest demonstrations." The New York Times Magazine exposé noted earlier said Southerners believed desegregation would come, "and they believed that it would cause no difficulty" (February 26, page 48). Judge Grooms reinforced this belief after ordering Lucy reinstated:

> He held that the officials of the university had underestimated the reaction at the university and the fury of the mob. There had been no such reaction at other universities compelled to admit Negro students, and there was no reason to suspect that there would be such at the University of Alabama, he ruled. (March 1, page 1)

University not at Fault

The second major frame was the idea that the university was not at fault. This idea was conveyed through several smaller frames. First, the Times emphasized that the rioting included many "outsiders," such as nonstudents from Tuscaloosa and others from around the state. The coverage also included many references to the fact that most students were against the violence and that some supported Lucy. Finally, after the initial suspension and final expulsion, the Times noted often that rioting – not the university administration – drove her out.

Role of Nonstudents

The administration tried very hard to portray the events as instigated by people outside the university, and the Times upheld this frame without adequately noting

that many students were involved in the protests and many were later disciplined by the university.

The first article after the violent protest on February 6 that led to Lucy's suspension noted as early as the fourth paragraph, and five times total, that the demonstrators included "nonstudents" and "outsiders." It also noted that "[T]hree men – all nonstudents – were arrested" and that many students "contended that the demonstrations were spearheaded by townspeople" (February 7, pages 1 and 25). Six articles in the next week contained similar references, and the exposé noted earlier from New York Times Magazine (February 26) spent several pages discussing the role of the townspeople and the mob formed by "the town and gown merger" (page 48).

Another article noted the role of outsiders four times, including references to the "public's temper" and this reference to Lucy's probable reinstatement:

> Their (the University of Alabama Board of Trustees) primary concern now is how to prepare opinion in the state to accept (reinstatement) if it happens . . . The mood in the state is ugly – not so much on the campus as in the state capital of Montgomery . . . (with) racial strife of its own, and rural areas. (February 15, page 23) (my parentheses)

An article about a large rally in Tuscaloosa that resulted in formation of the West Alabama Citizens' Council emphasized that most of the new members were not students. Although student Leonard Wilson, who had led many of the demonstrations, was chosen temporary president, the article mentioned four speakers who were not students and the fact that there were "more workers than students" (February 18, page 38).

Most Students Supported Lucy

The Times seemed to go out of its way to show that students were against the violence and that some supported Lucy's enrollment, when in fact, "Nobody wanted her there" (Hood, 1991). Within three days of Lucy's suspension, the Times had noted in several articles that "various student organizations" had denounced the violence and "mob rule." These groups included the Student Religious Association, the University Student Government Association Legislature, the International Relations Club, Law School students and College of Engineering students. Although the articles noted that most students supported segregation and did not want Lucy to re-enroll, these references tended to be brief and not as extensive as the coverage of the resolutions adopted by the various clubs. Two editorials that week praised these students as well, noting that their opposition to violence made them "better defenders of the good name of their university" (February 8, page 32) and represented "sound thinking" (February 10). A lengthy, though buried, article praised a race relations course at the university as an attempt "to remove conflict" (February 19, page 50).

Several articles noted that a petition drive to restore Lucy's enrollment had garnered 500 signatures, and a few articles noted that students had approached her and wished her good luck. Eleanor Roosevelt praised the petition signers in a speech to a luncheon for the Encampment for Citizenship program, an event that would usually garner little or no news coverage (March 25, page 61).

Rioting – not University Administrators – Drove Her Out

A third way the Times deflected blame from the university was to frame Lucy's departure as a function of the rioting, not of the university administrators who suspended and expelled her. Although these administrators were reacting to the demonstrations when they suspended her, they expelled her later because of what they called "untrue" and "outrageous" accusations against them. Nonetheless, the coverage continued to frame her exit as one caused by the riots.

Early coverage seemed mixed, some noting that her suspension came "after" or "because of" the riots. However, some articles also said she had been "driven out" by the riots. The coverage after the March 1 expulsion changed the tone. The first article after the expulsion (March 2) said she was suspended after the "demonstrators had driven her from the campus at Tuscaloosa . . . " (page 10). The final article in this sample, from March 27, 1957, announced that she had officially ended her attempts to be readmitted and said she had been "driven from the campus by a mob" (page 64).

Disturbance

Many scholars have described themes associated with demonstrations, strikes and other forms of "deviance" or "disruption." Any attempts at change are inherently a threat to the status quo, and thus become framed as somehow deviant. News coverage then tends to uphold this frame by pointing out the upheaval that has occurred. In this case, the Times constantly reminded readers that police, National Guard and other security measures were needed. The phrase "mob rule" appeared frequently, and it is

easy to link this frame with the idea discussed earlier that all of chaos was Lucy's fault. The disturbance frame began before the major riot, on February 4, with the lead stating that Lucy was "under heavy police guard" (page 10).

Other examples included references to all off-duty police being called in (February 5, page 60), Lucy being "escorted to and from classes" by armed police (February 9, page 26), the episode's effects on "every strata of Alabama life" (February 11, page 38), the need for "thirty of the city's fifty-nine policemen and thirty more state highway patrolmen to supplement the six campus police" (February 12, section IV, page 1), the episode's effects on Alabama unions (February 26, page 48), Governor Folsom calling a special legislative session to deal with segregation problems (February 29, page 1), diversion of all traffic and closure of all roads near the university so Lucy would be safe commuting to the campus from Birmingham (February 29, page 23), and "the emotional storm that tore through the city" (March 11, section IV, page 3).

One longer example:

> The disorders here . . . have been the most serious difficulties yet encountered by any Southern state university compelled in twenty-one years of court orders to open doors to Negroes. (February 8, page 22)

This disturbance theme had an unusual international slant to it as well. Several articles noted reactions from the Soviet Union, Canada, Latin America and Europe, as well as the presence of journalists from Europe. In addition, several articles noted reaction from diverse American groups such as clergy of all religions and students at

other universities.

Another related frame is the ending of the crisis. As Hollingsworth (1986), Chibnall (1977) and many others have argued, the press often frames these events in terms of ending whatever was "wrong" and getting back to "normal." This scenario definitely happened in this case, as a previously noted article announced the ending of the episode. Lucy eventually decided not to pursue further court action to be reinstated at Alabama and to enroll at the University of Texas at Austin, which had been desegregated for several years. The Times ran an article on this announcement the next day, with this lead:

> Mrs. Autherine Lucy Foster's fight to re-renter the University of Alabama has ended officially. (March 27, 1957, page 64)

CONCLUSIONS

Autherine Lucy married the Rev. Hugh Foster in April 1956. In January 1957, she won an "honor roll" award for fighting racism from the Chicago Defender, a black weekly in Chicago (January 13, 1957, page 50). Ironically, she later worked on her doctorate at the University of Alabama (Hood, 1991).

Implications for Current Mass Media Practices

Gitlin's notions of framing were evident, especially his theories on framing in a way that upholds the status quo. Although it is not a conscious effort to do so, the mass media, in this case the print news media, uphold the social order in a number of ways (Wilson and Gutiérrez, 1985 and 1995, among others, argued this point quite a bit more

in-depth than the scope of this paper allows). To its credit, the Times did not fall into the prevalent pattern of stereotyped coverage. Nonetheless, very little in the coverage questioned the events, nor did it adequately link the events to outright racism. A number of studies have shown that this problem exists in similar coverage today (for example, Entman, 1990, Martindale, 1990, and Entman, 1992).

Although this coverage is 40 years old, little has changed in the mass media's reporting on members of racial minorities. Dates (1990) noted that "[T]he issue of fair representation of minorities in the majority press [is] far from settled" (page 378). She wondered whether minority communities received "an equitable share of positive coverage" and whether minority journalists had adequate opportunities with mainstream press outlets. Her response to herself was that "[N]one of these questions could be answered in the affirmative" (page 378).

While it is easy to point out poor news coverage of marginalized groups by the mass media, most of that coverage results from various constraints that govern the news industry – not intentional bias. The image of most reporters as "liberal" would probably lead most people to be aghast at the coverage marginalized groups receive, but the reality is that the structures of journalism are more to blame than the individuals within it. As Rivers pointed out, "There are built-in biases in the normal operations of the news media . . . it's not a question of overt practices, but of not-so-benign neglect" (1980, page 59). So while very little of the subtle and overt racism occurs because of a conscious bias, some of the many constraints of the news industry and their effects deserve brief discussion.

One constraint is the fact that the news media operate within a larger capitalistic society that emphasizes product over process and forces news organizations to become profit-oriented businesses. A great majority of the mass media outlets are businesses working within that system, meaning they must appeal to as large an audience as possible to stay profitable. Although various forms of mass media earn profit in different ways (e.g., newspapers through advertising, music and film through sales), the final goal is to make money above all else. This fact means the news itself must sell, and in an effort to increase the size of the audience, news producers tend to operate on the assumption that few people are interested in news about marginalized groups (Wilson and Gutiérrez, 1985 and 1995).

While many mass media organizations, especially news-gathering organizations, like to consider themselves public servants, and in many ways they do provide a valuable public service, the bottom line is that they are businesses, forcing them to consider profit above public service. Similar to the situation within the larger society, mass media businesses that do not conform to certain limits within this microcosm find themselves with low profits, if not bankrupt. In this case, readers were not ready to deal with overt racism and challenges to the status quo, instead preferring reassurance about the social order.

The most important constraint within the news industry is the definition of news. As a whole, the "news values" (e.g., "prominence," "consequence" and "human interest") used to define what is and is not news result in news being "event oriented, and outside the ordinary" (Rivers, 1980, page 56), which tends to skew the coverage of

marginalized groups. Because the coverage is event-oriented more than process-oriented, and because ordinary events are not considered news, events such as riots and crime – or being the first African-American at an institution known for its racism – become the dominant news we receive about certain groups. This idea also relates to the mass media being part of the larger a society, one that emphasizes product, or in this case event (desegregation), over process (racism).

News coverage of marginalized groups is not always bad. Most individual news workers make a good-faith effort to be sensitive to the issues and the way marginalized groups are covered. However, the structural constraints of the industry (in large part dictated by the constraints of the larger society) limit the opportunities to improve that coverage and are not likely to change in the near future.

Suggestions for Further Research

This study is only part of the larger desegregation issue. In 1963, two more African-American students, James Hood and Vivian Malone, enrolled at the university. Hood left before graduating, and Malone became the first African-American student to graduate from the University of Alabama, in 1965. Future studies could examine the way the Times covered their initial enrollments and Malone's graduation. Changes over time, if any, could be noted. The coverage could be different because: the 1960s saw a greater awareness of civil rights; a more liberal president, John F. Kennedy, was in office, and had ordered federal protection for Hood and Malone (which Lucy did not have); University of Alabama President Oliver Carmichael

had resigned in November 1956; and George Wallace, who was more conservative than James Folsom, had become governor of Alabama and played a much larger role.

In addition, the Times' coverage could be compared to that of an Alabama daily. Although regional differences tend to be slight, as noted earlier, perhaps the highly emotional level of the situation resulted in different coverage.

It is impossible to derive a true picture of desegregation efforts by examining one episode or one university's experiences. Although the framing theory used as a basis for this study would say the results would not change from newspaper to newspaper or university to university, it would still be interesting to study which frames developed when other universities were desegregated (e.g., the University of Mississippi experienced more violence during the early 1960s than Alabama had in 1956).

These research ideas do not take into account the desegregation efforts at elementary and high schools at the time. Although some studies have been done (see Selected Literature Review, above), it would be interesting to compare coverage of K-12 and university desegregation, in light of the fact that society has different attitudes (thus different frames) toward younger students.

Finally, more research could be undertaken using different mass media (such as television), different newspapers or different genres (such as entertainment). However, due to the ideas about framing discussed earlier, the basic results – and certainly the conclusions – are not likely to be radically different from those presented here.

REFERENCES

Primary Documents

Issues of "Facts on File" from February 1956 and March 1956.

Issues of the New York Times from February 1956 to March 1957.

Secondary Documents

Peter Braham, "How the Media Report Race," in Michael Gurevitch, et al., eds., Culture, Society and the Media, New York, Methuen, 1982.

Steve Chibnall, Law-and-Order News: An Analysis of Crime Reporting in the British Press, London, Tavistock Publications, 1977.

Peter Dahlgren and Sumitra Chakrapani, "The Third World on TV News: Western Ways of Seeing the 'Other'," in W.C. Adams, ed., Television Coverage of International Affairs, Norwood, N.J., Ablex, 1982.

Jannette L. Dates, "Smilin' Faces Tell Lies: The News Industry – Print News," in Jannette L. Dates and William Barlow, eds., Split Image: African Americans in the Mass Media, Washington, D.C., Howard University Press, 1990.

Robert M. Entman, "Modern Racism and the Images of Blacks in Local Television News," Critical Studies in Mass Communication, v. 7, December 1990, pp. 332-345.

_____, "Representation and Reality in the Portrayal of Blacks on Network Television News," Journalism Quarterly, v. 71, no. 3, Autumn 1994, pp. 509-520.

Todd Gitlin, The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left, Berkeley, Calif., University of California Press, 1980.

William R. Grant, "The Media and School Desegregation," Integrated Education, v. 14, no. 6, November/December 1976, pp. 12-13.

Herman Gray, "Race Relations as News: Content Analysis," American Behavioral Scientist, v. 30, no. 4, March/April 1987, pp. 381-396.

Mrs. Philip Hanner, "Background – Atlanta: A Handbook for Reporters Covering the Desegregation of Atlanta Schools," 1961, ERIC Document No. ED001971.

Mark Hollingsworth, The Press and Political Dissent, London, Pluto Press Limited, 1986.

Deborah Kades, "News Coverage of the Desegregation of the Little Rock Schools," Unpublished Manuscript, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1989.

William Levenson and Ted Princiotto, "Press Coverage of School Desegregation in Cleveland," 1964, ERIC Document No. ED001607.

Carolyn Martindale, "Changes in Newspaper Images of Black Americans," Newspaper Research Journal, v. 11, no. 3, Winter 1990, pp. 8-19.

Robert Park, "News as a Form of Knowledge: A Chapter in the Sociology of Knowledge," American Journal of Sociology, v. XLV, no. 5, March 1940, pp. 669-686.

Caryl Rivers, "Covering the Disenfranchised: A Working Reporter's Notes," in Bernard Rubin, ed., Small Voices and Great Trumpets: Minorities and the Media, New York, Praeger, 1980.

Edward Said, Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World, New York, Random House, 1981.

"School Desegregation: The Continuing Challenge," 1976, ERIC Document No. ED 128532.

Raymond O. Shelton, "Making Desegregation Work, Tampa, Florida," Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Association of School Administrators, February 20-23, 1976, ERIC Document No. ED120308.

Joel Spring, The American School, 1642-1990, second edition, White Plains, N.Y., Longman, 1990.

Gaye Tuchman, Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality, New York, Macmillan/The Free Press, 1978.

Meyer Weinberg and Gertrude Martin, eds., Covering the Desegregation Story: Current Experiences and Issues, Evanston, Ill., Northwestern University Center for Equal Education, 1976.

Clint C. Wilson and Felix Gutiérrez, Minorities and Media: Diversity and the End of Mass Communication, Beverly Hills, Calif., SAGE Publications, 1985.

_____, Race, Multiculturalism and the Media: From Mass to Class Communication, 2nd ed., Thousand Oaks, Calif., SAGE Publications, 1995.

Other

James Hood, personal interview, July 9, 1991, Madison, Wis. Hood is now the public safety director at Madison Area Technical College.

Table 1 - Items Examined

Month	Articles*	Editorials**	Letters to the Editor	Photographs	Total Items
February 1956	48 (10)	5	2	19	74
March 1956	27 (6)	4	9	4	44
April 1956	3			1	4
May 1956	2				2
June 1956	1 (1)	1	1		3
July 1956	1				1
August 1956	4				4
September 1956	1				1
October 1956	1				1
November 1956	2			1	3
December 1956	1				1
January 1957	3				3
March 1957	2				2
TOTALS	96 (17)	10	12	25	143

* Parentheses indicate number of items appearing on page 1
** Includes editorial cartoons

Racial Differences in Responding to Occupational Portrayals by Models on Television

Osei Appiah
Department of Communication
120 McClatchy Hall
Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305-2050
(415) 723-2910
email: osei@leland.stanford.edu

Paper presented at the AEJMC annual convention in August 1997

Minorities and Communication Division

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Running Head: Responding to Occupational Portrayals

Osei Appiah (M.S., Cornell University, 1992) is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Communication at Stanford University. His research interests are race and mass media effects, advertising, adolescents and mass media, and sports.

Racial Differences in Responding to Occupational Portrayals by Models on Television

Abstract

This study exmined the differences in how black and white viewers process messages based on the race of television models representing five occupations. Findings from 54 black and white college students suggest that the race of the model has no impact on the amount of information white viewers remember from television models. In constrast, black viewers remember significantly more information from black television models than they do from white television models. The results have practical implications for the design of health communication campaigns and targeted advertisements.

Racial Differences in Responding to Occupational Portrayals by Models on Television

Source similarity is a critical determinant of message effectiveness (Basow & Howe, 1980; Hass, 1981; Feick & Higie, 1992; Rogers, 1983), and cues which suggest that the source of a message is similar to the viewer is one of the most frequently used targeting devices (Basil, 1993; Pitts, Whalen, O'Keefe, 1989). More and more marketers are targeting messages at specific audience characteristics knowing it will improve the effectiveness of their messages (Basil, 1993). Race of the model is an important and particularly salient cue with which a same-race viewer is most likely to identify (Comstock & Paik, 1992; Takanishi, 1982; Whittler, 1991; Whittler, 1989), particularly when the individual's ethnic group is part of a numeric minority (Aaker, Brumbaugh, & Grier, 1996; Desphande & Stayman, 1994; McGuire, 1984).

Much of the research studies show several differences in the ways blacks and whites react to media messages. Black viewers are more attracted to programs with black characters (Dates, 1980). They more often seek out information about black people from television (Poindexter & Stroman, 1981), and they recall more television content from black actors (Whittler, 1991). Blacks are as much as three times more likely to identify with black television characters (Greenberg & Atkin, 1982). Moreover, they rate black television characters more positively (Greenberg, 1986; Whittler, 1991), they show an increased likelihood of purchasing products promoted by black characters (Whittler, 1989), and they are more likely to choose black television characters as their favorites (Eastman & Liss, 1981). An A.C. Nielsen study (Carman, 1996) revealed that nine of the top ten television programs in black households were dominated by same-race characters (e.g., *New York Undercover, Living Single, In the House, Fresh Prince of Bel-Air, Martin, Family Matters*). The only exception was *NFL Monday Night Football.*

Research examining the effects of a model's race on white audiences has not provided definitive conclusions. Some research suggests that white respondents evaluate media with white models more favorably than they do with black models (Cagley & Cardozo, 1970; Schlinger & Plummer, 1972; Qualls & Moore, 1990), while other research indicates that the race of the model

makes no difference for white viewers (Bush, Hair, & Solomon, 1979; Greenberg, 1986; Schlinger & Plummer, 1972; Whittler, 1991; Whittler & Dimeo, 1991).

The literature in this area seems to take for granted or completely ignore theoretical explanations of why race should make a difference in how viewers respond to media messages. This paper provides a better understanding of the theoretical underpinnings and psychological mechanisms at work when viewers are exposed to black and white models on television.

Identification theory (Kelman, 1961) maintains that people automatically assess their level of similarity with a source during an interaction and make similarity judgments (Hovland & Weis, 1951; Kelman, 1961). This process compels individuals to choose models based on perceived similarities between themselves and the model (Kelman, 1961; Basow & Howe, 1980). When viewers perceive that the source possesses characteristics similar to their own such as race, they begin to infer that the source will also share other similar characteristics, all of which lead to greater identification (Feick & Higie, 1992). Studies have shown that individuals who are more likely to identify with television characters are more affected by the media content in which those characters engaged (Huesman, Eron, Klein, Brice & Fischer, 1983).

For blacks who maintain strong racial identities their awareness of and preference for black models in the media is heightened. This notion was supported by Whittler (1991) who found that black college students who identified more strongly with black culture also identified more strongly with black models in advertising compared to blacks who were low on cultural identification. Both low-and high-identification blacks perceived themselves as more similar to black than white television models.

Viewers who do not identify with television models based on race may identify with other characteristics that the model possesses. This leads to the second stage of the identification theory. This stage posits that identification often occurs when individuals infer that their taste and preferences are similar to the source (Eagly, Wood, & Chaiken, 1978). For instance, white viewers who do not identify with black models racially, may infer that they have other

characteristics in common with black models such as interests, tastes, preferences, and values, and thereby find black models appealing.

By and large, black viewers also choose models in the media when they observe some commonalities with these models. For black viewers, the most striking commonality is often a physical attribute like skin color. The skin color or race of an actor is a salient communicator characteristic, especially for persons concerned with racial issues or for whom racial identity is central to their concepts of self. For these individuals, a model's race could be a positive cue for racially similar viewers thereby attracting more attention and promoting greater recall. This phenomenon is addressed by the distinctiveness theory.

Distinctiveness theory maintains that a person's distinctive traits (e.g., African-American, red-headed) will be more salient to him or her than more prevalent traits (e.g., Caucasian, brunette) possessed by other people in the environment (McGuire, 1984). This is particularly true for people who belong to a racial group that is part of a numeric minority. Black people, for instance, would be highly aware and mindful of their race in personal situations as a result of being a numeric minority in the United States. In addition to relatively low numbers of blacks in the United States, there are also relatively few blacks in the media causing black audiences to be more cognizant of their presence in the media.

Strong support for the distinctiveness theory has been shown in studies examining ethnic minority groups' responses to mass communication. Desphande and Stayman (1994) found that Hispanic Americans living in Austin (where they are an ethnic minority) were more likely to believe that a Hispanic spokesperson was trustworthy than those Hispanics living in San Antonio (where they are an ethnic majority). Similarly, Aaker and colleagues (1996) found that blacks (distinctive group) had more favorable attitudes toward an ad featuring black characters than whites (non-distinctive group) had toward an advertisement featuring white characters. Therefore, it appears that ethnic minorities spontaneously evoke their ethnic identities in social and mediated environments where their ethnic group is minimally represented.

Black characters in advertising are generally restricted to minor and background roles (Whittler & Dimeo, 1991), and in television programming they are featured primarily in racially segregated situation comedies (Graves, 1996). Given this lack of visibility black characters command on television, when black characters do appear black people may be more likely to pay attention to, and identify with, them because of salient cultural cues like race.

Advertisers have traditionally been reluctant to use blacks in advertisements out of fear that black characters would offend white consumers and adversely affect sales of the advertised product and other products offered by the sponsoring company (Bush, Hair, & Solomon, 1979; Cagley & Cardozo, 1970; Guest, 1970; Qualls & Moore, 1990;). Companies have been afraid of using black models in mainstream advertising despite empirical research that has shown that the race of the model has little influence on white consumers (Bush, Hair, & Solomon, 1979; Pitts, Whalen, O'Keefe & Murray, 1989; Schlinger & Plummer, 1972; Whittler, 1991). Data indicate no differences in the sales and attitudinal responses of white consumers to advertisements containing all black models, racially integrated models, or all white models (Bush, Gwinner & Solomon, 1974; Schlinger & Plummer, 1972). Additionally, Soley (1983) found that the race of the model made no difference in whether an ad was seen, half-read, or read entirely among white subjects. These results clearly demonstrate that the absence of blacks from advertising is a bias on the part of the advertiser and the business, *not* the consumer (Soley, 1983).

Black consumers heavily rely on the mass media, particularly advertising, for information; and they use that information when making purchases. In fact, research has shown that blacks appreciate the information value of magazine and television advertising more than whites (Soley, 1983), respond more to advertising than whites (Miller & Miller, 1992), are more likely than whites to view ads before buying (Brandweek, 1993), and are more unlikely to buy or trust products that are not advertised (Miller & Miller, 1992). Moreover, studies suggest that black viewers are more likely than white viewers to heavily rely on television and television figures for information, particularly information about occupations, blacks, and the black community (Barcus, 1983; Greenberg, 1972; Greenberg & Atkin, 1982; Poindexter and Stroman, 1981). However,

the majority of blacks also believe that most television and print ads are designed only for white people, which causes blacks to respond to ads with white models differently, often ignoring them completely (Rossman, 1994; Brandweek, 1993).

Based on these findings the following two hypotheses were developed:

(1) Black viewers will recall significantly more information from black models posing in different occupations than they will from white models posing in the same occupations.

(2) There will be no difference in the amount of information white viewers' recall based on the race of the model.

Method

Subjects

A total of 54 male undergraduate and graduate students, ages 19-31, from Stanford University (28 black students and 26 white students) voluntarily participated in the study after being recruited from courses in the Department of Communication.

Stimulus Materials

There were two videotapes that showed black and white models from five different occupations. The first videotape showed five black male models from five different occupations, dressed in attire that represented their particular occupations. The five occupations were doctor, lawyer, engineer, professor, and business student. The second videotape showed five white male models from the same five occupations depicted in the first video.

The occupations were randomized in each video so that the presentation sequence of each occupation would be different for both videos. Each video opened with all five characters facing the screen and lined up from left to right against a white backdrop. Beginning from left to right (and while standing) each character introduced himself, gave a brief explanation of his occupation, and mentioned something of personal interest. The models recited the following script:

Professor: Hi, I'm _____. I am a professor in the department of anthropology at Cornell University. I teach courses in African Societies, and Human Origins. I enjoy traveling and meeting people from different countries, in fact, I am planning a trip to South Africa next Fall.

Doctor: Hi, I'm Dr. _____. I'm a pediatrician. I work at the UCLA medical center where on a typical day I have about 40 patients. I am a major contributor to the Make a Wish Foundation, which grants wishes to terminally ill children.

Mechanical Engineer: Hi, my name is _____. I am a mechanical engineer for Ford Motor Company in Detroit, MI. I enjoy going to jazz clubs and spending time with my two daughters.

Lawyer: Hi, my name is _____. I am a corporate lawyer at the law firm Jones, Jones, and Johnson. Our biggest clients include: Xerox, IBM, and Nissan. When I am not working I enjoy playing basketball with friends, and brewing my own beer.

Business Student: Hi, my name is _____. I am a student in the business school at Duke. After receiving my MBA in May my wife and I plan to move to Atlanta, where I hope to work as a financial analyst for J. P. Morgan.

Since the white and black viewers were being asked to recall specific physical and verbal information from the models, strong efforts were made to prevent primacy and recency recall biases, gender biases, and biases associated with the models wardrobe. This was accomplished first by giving models a script from which they could not deviate. Second, black and white models from corresponding occupations were dressed similarly. Third, all models and all viewers were men. Finally, as mentioned above, model presentation was randomized.

Procedure

A 2 (Model: black or white) x 2 (Viewer: black or white) mixed design was used to test the hypotheses. The independent variables were viewer's race and model's race. The dependent variable was the amount of information recalled. The subjects were randomly assigned to one of two experimental conditions: those subjects who viewed white models or those subjects who viewed black models. Each subject participated individually in a small classroom located in the Department of Communication. When the subjects entered the classroom the researcher carefully went over the purpose of the study and informed them that their participation was voluntary, and that they were guaranteed confidentiality. The participants were asked to view a short one minute video that contained five people from five different occupations, then complete a questionnaire that

pertained to the video. After completing the questionnaire subjects were asked to identify the ethnic group in which they most closely identified. Only subjects that indicated being either white or black were included in the study.

Instrument

Four questionnaires were designed, two for each video type. Two questionnaires asked subjects to recall the models in the following order: lawyer, doctor, professor, engineer, and business student. The first questionnaire asked questions specific to the black models and the second asked questions specific to white models. The third and fourth questionnaires asked subjects to recall models in the following order: business student, engineer, doctor, professor, and lawyer. Again, one questionnaire asked questions specific to the black models and the other asked questions specific to the white models.

Subjects were randomly given one of the questionnaires corresponding to the race of the models in the video. Each questionnaire assessed the viewers' ability to freely recall certain visual and verbal aspects from the five models present in the video. Subjects were asked five questions for each model in the video for a total of 25 questions.

Results

Scale Construction

Six scales were created to measure viewers' recall of doctors, lawyers, professors, engineers, business students, and overall recall of all five models. The first scale was developed to measure viewers' recall of doctors based on responses to five questions. Responses to 5 items were summed to produce one recall scale for doctor. A second scale was developed to measure viewers' recall of lawyers based on responses to 5 questions. Responses to 5 items were summed to produce one recall scale for lawyer. In the third scale, each of the 5 responses were summed to measure viewers' recall of engineers. The fourth scale, recall of professors, was developed based on the sum of responses to 5 questions. Responses to 5 items were also summed to produce the scale for business students. The last scale was developed to measure the subjects' total recall of all

5 models. Responses to each of the five preceding scales were summed to produce an overall recall scale.

Hypotheses Tests

It was predicted that black viewers would recall more information from black models, while white viewers would demonstrate no recall bias based on the race of the model. An analysis of variance (ANOVA) revealed a main effect for models' race ($F(1, 53) = 3.10$) on overall recall of models. In other words, all subjects recalled more from black models than they did from white models, but this was only marginally significant ($p < .10$). This was qualified by a significant two-way interaction between models' race and viewers' race $F(1, 53) = 4.50$, $p < .05$. A test for mean differences (see Figure 1) indicated that, as hypothesized, black viewers recalled significantly ($p < .05$) more information from the five black models posing in different occupations ($M = 15.6$) than they did from the five white models posing in the same occupations ($M = 11.7$). In contrast, as hypothesized, white viewers showed no significant difference in the amount of information they recalled from white models ($M = 15.7$) or black models ($M = 15.1$).

This pattern of results was replicated with doctor, lawyer, professor, business student, and engineer. It was hypothesized that black viewers would recall significantly more information from black doctors. For white viewers, it was expected that there would be no difference in the amount of information they recalled based on the race of the doctor. A main effect for model's race ($F(1, 53) = 5.23$) indicated that subjects overall remembered more information from a black doctor than they did from a white doctor. A test for mean differences (Figure 2) revealed that black viewers were significantly ($p < .05$) more likely to recall information from a black doctor ($M = 3.6$) than they were from a white doctor ($M = 2.5$). As expected, there were no significant recall differences for white viewers based on the race of the doctor.

For lawyers, a main effect for subject race ($F(1, 53) = 3.63$) indicated that white subjects remembered more information from lawyers than did black subjects but this was only marginally significant ($p < .10$). This is qualified by a two-way interaction between race of the model and

race of the subject $F(1, 53) = 6.31$, $p < .01$). A test for mean differences (Figure 3) showed, as hypothesized, that black viewers recalled significantly more information from a black lawyer ($M = 3.0$) than they did from a white lawyer ($M = 2.1$, $p < .10$). Unexpectedly, white viewers recalled more information from a white lawyer ($M = 3.9$) than they did from a black lawyer ($M = 2.9$) but this difference was only marginally significant ($p < .10$).

For professors, a main effect for subject race ($F(1, 53) = 3.96$; $p < .05$) indicated that white viewers remembered more information from professors than did black viewers. There were no significant differences in the amount of information recalled by black viewers or white viewers based on the race of the professor (Figure 4).

There was a significant interaction between race of the viewer and race of the model ($F(1, 53) = 4.98$; $p < .05$) for the business students. In the test for mean differences, Figure 5 indicates a marginally significant ($p < .10$) recall difference based on the business student's race for black viewers but not for white viewers. As hypothesized, black viewers recalled more information from the black business student ($M = 2.8$) than they did from the white business student ($M = 1.9$).

Two main effects were significant for engineers (Figure 6). One main effect showed that subjects overall recalled significantly more information from the black engineer ($F(1, 53) = 4.75$, $p < .05$). The second main effect, although only marginally significant ($p < .10$), indicated that black viewers recalled more information from engineers than did white viewers ($F(1, 53) = 3.42$). A test for mean differences revealed no significant differences in the amount information recalled by black or white viewers based on the race of the engineer.

Discussion and Conclusion

The results of this study provide information on how viewers of different races respond to models of different races on television. The findings clearly demonstrate that, overall, black viewers recall significantly more information from black models on television than they do from white models on television. In addition to recalling more information from black models in general, black viewers recalled significantly more information from the black doctor and the black

lawyer than they did from white models in the same occupations. These findings support the identification theory which maintains people automatically assess their level of similarity with a source during an interaction and make similarity judgments (Hovland & Weis, 1951; Kelman, 1961). Black viewers perceive themselves to be similar to the models based in part on race. As a result, they are more likely to identify with black models, pay more attention to black models, and recall more information from black models than they are from white models with whom they are less likely to identify.

These findings are also consistent with the distinctiveness theory (McGuire, 1984; McGuire et al., 1978). People notice about themselves characteristics that are distinctive from other people in their environment. For black viewers, being part of a racial group that is a numeric minority in America and in the media causes them to be more conscious of black models on television. Therefore, it would be expected that black viewers would spontaneously evoke their racial identities while watching television and, as a result, display more attention to and better recall of black models.

Like black viewers, white viewers also seem to find similarities with black models, but they do so on the basis of characteristics other than race. As the identification theory also suggests, identification often occurs when individuals infer that their tastes and preferences are similar to the source (Eagly, et al., 1978). White viewers may have perceived that they shared just as much in common with black models as they did with white models. This may explain why, in every case except lawyers, white viewers had no recall biases toward either black or white models.

Distinctiveness theory may provide another explanation as to why white viewers displayed no recall bias towards either model. The theory posits that individual's distinctive traits will be more salient to them than more prevalent traits possessed by other people in the environment (McGuire, 1984). A member of a racial majority (e.g., whites) is less likely to be aware of their racial identity vis-à-vis a member of a racial minority. Since white people make up a racial majority socially and in the media they may be less mindful of race when viewing television and

demonstrate no attention bias towards a specific racial group. The findings support this notion. White viewers recalled just as much information from black models as they did from white models.

Interestingly, although white viewers remembered more information overall than black viewers (M = 15.4 vs. M = 13.9), black viewers were just as likely to remember the same amount of information as white viewers when the model was black (M = 15.6 vs. M = 15.1; see Figure 6). As indicated, unlike white viewers, black viewers demonstrate a bias towards their racial group by paying more attention to black models. The findings provide support for the notion that blacks often ignore television and advertising that they believe is designed for only white people (Brandweek, 1993; Rossman, 1994).

These findings have practical implications for the design of health communication campaigns and targeted advertisements. They suggest that when designing campaign messages, particularly health messages, planners should make use of black models in order for black viewers to best remember those messages. Until it is discovered what messages and models are most attractive and appealing to specific audiences, planners cannot design and market pro-social messages that are effective in reaching targeted groups. For example, black youth may well be the most difficult audience to reach with an anti-abuse or pro-social message because many doubt messages from mainstream sources (Fost, 1993). A major goal for public health professionals and educators is to reach black youth with a message they trust and with which they can identify. The more attention-getting features a public service or product advertisement has (e.g., race) the more consumers will attend to, recall, comprehend, and be persuaded by the ad (Calvert, Huston, Watkins & Wright, 1982) and the more affected consumers will be (Huesman et al., 1983).

Future research in this area should consider using a measure of ethnic identification. The strength of one's ethnic identity may mediate the effects of mass media messages (Williams & Qualls, 1989). Future research should also begin to look at the effects of culturally embedded messages on both black (targeted) and white (non-targeted) audiences. Past research has simply examined the effects of black models in culturally neutral environments (Bush, Hair, & Solomon, 1979; Cagley & Cardozo, 1970; Schlinger & Plummer, 1972) rather than in those environments

that are specifically targeted to black audiences. Companies are now using targeted advertisements rich in black culture that go well beyond simply presenting black models in culturally neutral environments (Pitts et al., 1989).

Marketers are beginning to understand the impact of culturally embedded advertisements and are more than ever before designing creative approaches to market their products and services at black consumers. In advertising there are many examples of this in the use of black models, ethnic vernacular, music, neighborhoods, and cultural nuances specific to black people. There are a number of companies that target messages specifically to black people in this manner, including McDonald's Corporation, The Coca-Cola Company, and Nike. A recent television advertisement by Nike is exemplary of a product (athletic shoes) designed for *all* groups, but certainly a message targeted to black youth. The commercial is set in a neighborhood barber shop with about five former and current black professional basketball stars reminiscing about the glory days. There is a close-up of a radio sticker reading 1450 AM KFUNK, the background music is Superfly by Curtis Mayfield, and the conversation is filled with black vernacular and storytelling.

The results imply that the use of targeted advertising to reach black populations will continue to appeal to white consumers. While empirical research shows that white viewers seem just as likely to respond to race-targeted advertising as they would to non-targeted advertising (Fost, 1993; Pitts, et al., 1989), race continues to be an important characteristic that guides attention, retention, perception, and behavior for black viewers.

References

Aaker, J., Brumbaugh, A., & Grier, S. (1996). *The Non-Target and Viewer Distinctiveness: The Impact of Target Marketing on Processing and Attitudes* (Research Paper No. 1391) Palo Alto: Stanford University, Graduate School of Business.

Barcus, F. E. (1983). *Images of Life on Children's Television: Sex Roles, Minorities, and Families.* New York, NY: Praeger Publishers.

Basil, M. D. (1993). *Targeting: Ethnic Match and Production Quality Effects on the Evaluation of Drug Abuse Messages.* Paper presented at the annual conference, International Communication Association, Washington, D. C.

Basow, S. A., & Howe, K. G. (1980). Role-model influence: Effects of sex and sex-role attitude in college students. *Psychology of Women Quarterly,* 4, 558-572.

Brandweek, (1993). Where blacks, whites diverge. 34(18), 22.

Brown, J. D., Bauman, K., Lentz, G. M., & Koch, G. (1987). Young Adolescents' Use of Radio and Television in the 1980s. Paper presented at the annual conference, International Communication Association, Montreal, Canada.

Bush, R. F., Hair, J. F., & Solomon, P. J. (1979, August). Consumer's level of prejudice and response to black models in advertisements. Journal of Marketing Research, XVI, 341-345.

Calvert, S. L., Huston, A. C., Watkins, B. A. & Wright, J. C. (1982). The relation between selective attention to television forms and children's comprehension of content. *Child Development,* 53, 601-610.

Cagley, J. W., & Cardozo, R. N. (1970, April). White response to integrated advertising, *Journal of Advertising Research,* 10, 35-39.

Carman, J. (1996, August 26). TV in black and white. *The San Francisco Chronicle*, pp. E1, E3.

Comstock, G., & Paik, H. (1992). *Television and the American Child.* San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Dates, J. (1980). Race, racial attitudes and adolescent perceptions of black television characters. *Journal of Broadcasting,* 24(4), 549-560.

Desphande, R., & Stayman, D. (1994, February). A tale of two cities: Distinctiveness theory and advertising effectiveness, *Journal of Marketing Research,* 31, 57-64.

Eagly, A. H., Wood, W., & Chaiken, S. (1978). Casual Inferences about communicators and their effect on opinion change, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 36, 424-435.

Eastman, H., & Liss, M. (1980). Ethnicity and children's preferences. *Journalism Quarterly,* 57(2), 277-280.

Feick, L., & Higie, R. A. (1992). The effect of preference heterogeneity and source characteristics on ad processing and judgments about endorsers. *Journal of Advertising,* XXI(2), 9-24.

Fost, D. (1993, May). Reaching the hip-hop generation. *American Demographics*, p.1.

Graves, S. B. (1996). Diversity on television. In T. M. MacBeth (Ed.), *Tuning in to Young Viewers: Social Science Perspectives on Television* (pp. 61-86). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Greenberg, B. (1972). Children's reactions to TV blacks. *Journalism Quarterly*, 49(1), 5-14.

Greenberg, B. S. (1986). Minorities and the mass media: In J. Bryant, & D. Zillmann (Eds.), *Perspectives on Media Effects* (pp. 165-188). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Greenberg, B. S., & Aktin, C. (1982). Learning about minorities from television: A research agenda. In G. Berry & C. Mitchell-Kernan (Eds.), *Television and the Socialization of the Minority Child* (pp. 215-243). New York: Academic Press.

Greenberg, B. S., & Brand, J. E. (1994). Minorities and the mass media: 1970s to 1990s. In J. Bryant, & D. Zillmann (Eds.), *Media Effects : Advances in Theory and Research*(pp. 273-314). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Greenberg, B., & Dominick, J. (1969). Racial and social class differences in teenagers' use of television. *Journal of Broadcasting*, 13, 331-334.

Greenberg, B. S., & Heeter, C. (1987). VCRs and young people: The picture at 39% penetration. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 30(5), 509-521.

Greenberg, B. S., & Heeter, C. (1983). Television and social stereotypes. In J. Sprafkin, C. Swift, & R. Hess (Eds.), *Rx Television: Enhancing the Preventive Impact of TV* (pp. 37-52). New York: Haworth Press.

Greene, F. (1973). Testimony of the federal trade commission. In J A. Howard & J. Hulbert (Eds.), *Advertising and the Public Interest* (p. 65). Chicago, IL: Crain Communication Inc.

Guest, L. (1970). How negro models affect company image. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 10(2), 29-33.

Hass, R. G. (1981). Effects of source characteristics on cognitive response and persuasion. In R. Petty, T. Ostrom, & T. Brock (Eds.), Cognitive Responses and Persuasion (pp. 141-172). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Hovland, C., & Weiss, W. (1951). The influence of source credibility on communication effectiveness, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 635-660.

Huesman, L. R., Eron, L. D., Klein, R., Brice, P., & Fischer, P. (1983). Mitigating the imitation of aggressive behaviors by changing children's attitudes about medial violence. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 44, 899-910.

Kotler, P., & Armstrong, G. (1990). *Introduction to Marketing*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall

Lee, E. B., & Browne, L. A. (1981). Television uses and gratifications among Black children, teenagers adults. *Journal of Broadcasting*, 25, 203-208.

Liss, M. (1981). children's television selections: A study of indicators of same-sex preferences. *Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology,* 12(1), 103-110.

McGuire, W. (1984). Search for the Self: Going beyond self-esteem and the reactive self. In R.A. Zucker, J. Aronoff, & A. I. Rabin (Eds.), *Personality and the Prediction of Behavior* (pp. 73-120). New York: Academic Press.

McGuire, W., McGuire, V., Child, P., & Fujioka, T. (1978). Salience of ethnicity in the spontaneous self-concept as a function of one's ethnic distinctiveness in the social environment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 36(5), 511-520.

Miller, C. (1993). Research on black consumers: Marketers with much at stake step up their efforts. *Marketing News,* 27(19), 1, 42.

Miller, P., & Miller, R. (1992). Trends are opportunities for targeting African-Americans. *Marketing News,* 26(2), 9.

Palmer, E. L., & Dorr, A. (Eds.) (1980). *Children and the Faces of Television: Teaching, Violence, Selling.* New York: Academic Press.

Pitts, R. E., Whalen, D. J., O'Keefe, R., & Murray, V. (1989). Black and white response to culturally targeted television commercials: A values-based approach. *Psychology & Marketing,* 6(4), 311-328.

Poindexter, P. M., & Stroman, C. (1981). Blacks and television: A review of the research literature. *Journal of Broadcasting,* 25(2), 103-122.

Qualls, W. J., & Moore, D. J. (1990). Stereotyping effects on consumers' evaluation of advertising: Impact of racial differences between actors and viewers. *Psychology & Marketing,* 7(2), 135-151.

Roberts, D. F. (1993). Adolescents and the mass media: from "Leave it to Beaver" to "Beverly Hills 90210." In R. Takanishi (Ed.), *Adolescence in the 1990s* (pp. 171-186). New York: Teacher's College Press.

Schlinger, M. J., & Plummer, J. T. (1972). Advertising in black and white. *Journal of Marketing Research,* 9, 149-153.

Siegel, A. E., & Siegel, S. (1957). Reference groups, membership groups, and attitude change, *The Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology,* 55, 361-364.

Solely, L. (1983). The effect black models in magazine ad readership. *Journalism Quarterly,* 48(2), 337-339.

Stroman, C. A. (1991). Television' role in the socialization of African-American children and adolescents. *Journal of Negro Education,* 60(3), 314-326.

Stroman, C. A. (1986). Television viewing and the self-concept of among Black children. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media,* 30, 87-93.

Takanishi, R. (1982). The influence of television on the ethnic identity of minority children: A conceptual framework. In G. L. Berry & C. M. Kernan (Eds.) *Television and the Socialization of the Minority Child* (pp. 81-104). New York: Academic Press.

Whittler, T. E. (1989). Viewers' processing of actor's race and message claims in advertising stimuli, *Psychology of Marketing*, 6, 287-309.

Whittler, T. E. (1991). The effects of actors' race in commercial advertising: Review and extension. *Journal of Advertising*, 20(1), 54-60.

Whittler, T. E., & Dimeo, J. (1991). Viewers' reactions to racial cues in advertising stimuli. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 31(6), 37-46.

APPENDIX

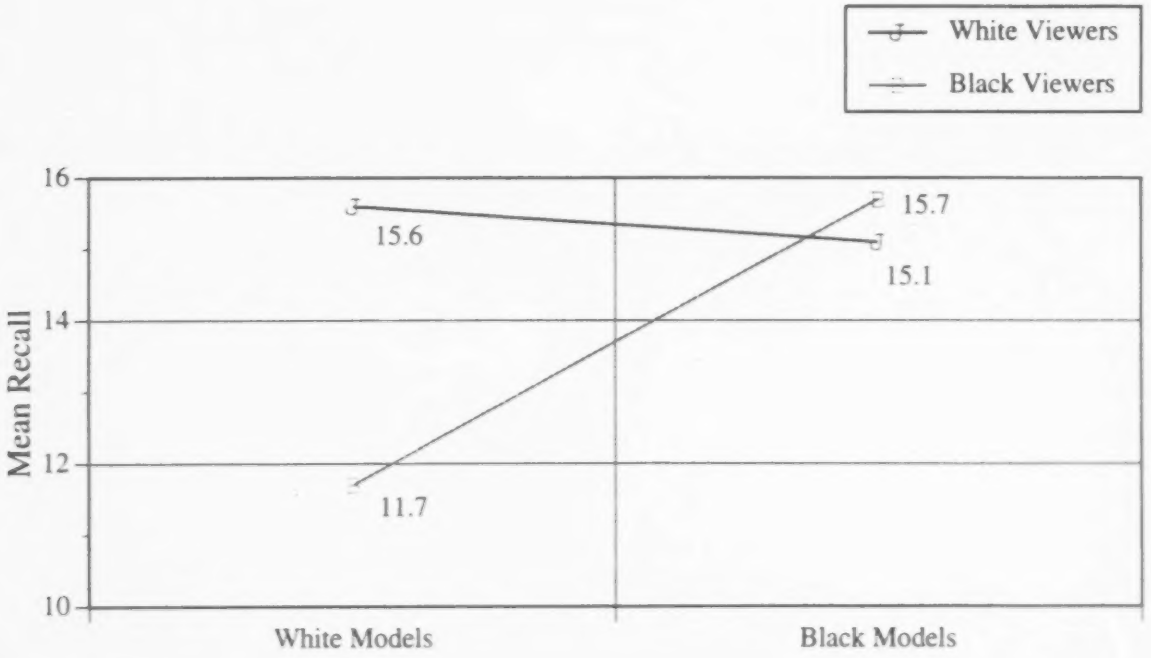


Figure 1. The effect of viewers' race and models' race on recall of all occupational models

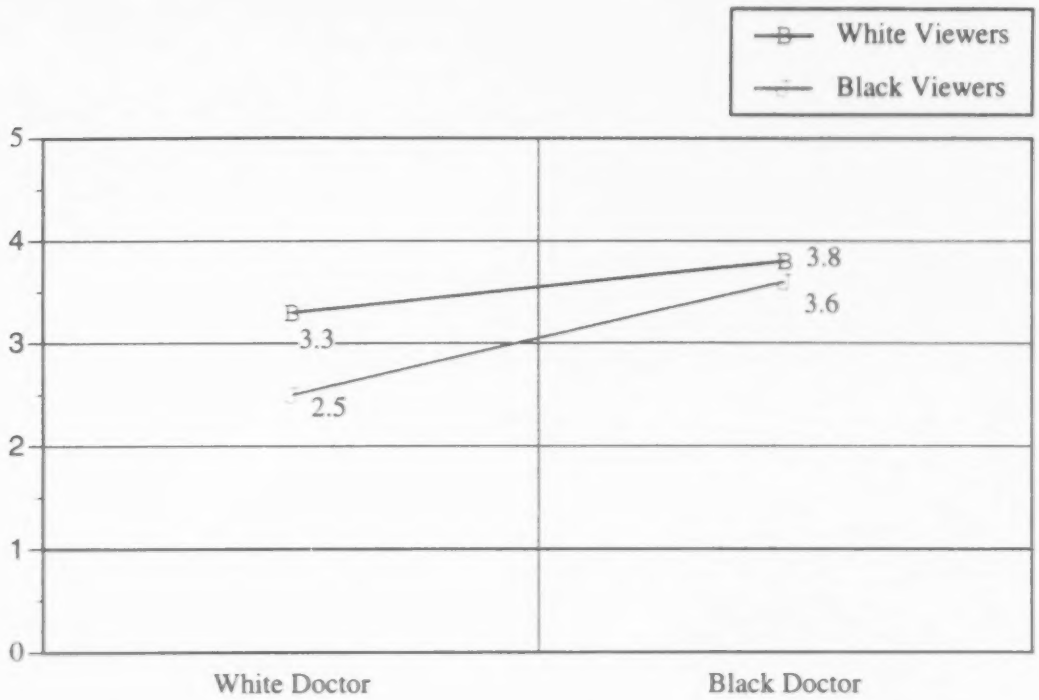


Figure 2. The effect of viewers' race and models' race on recall of doctors

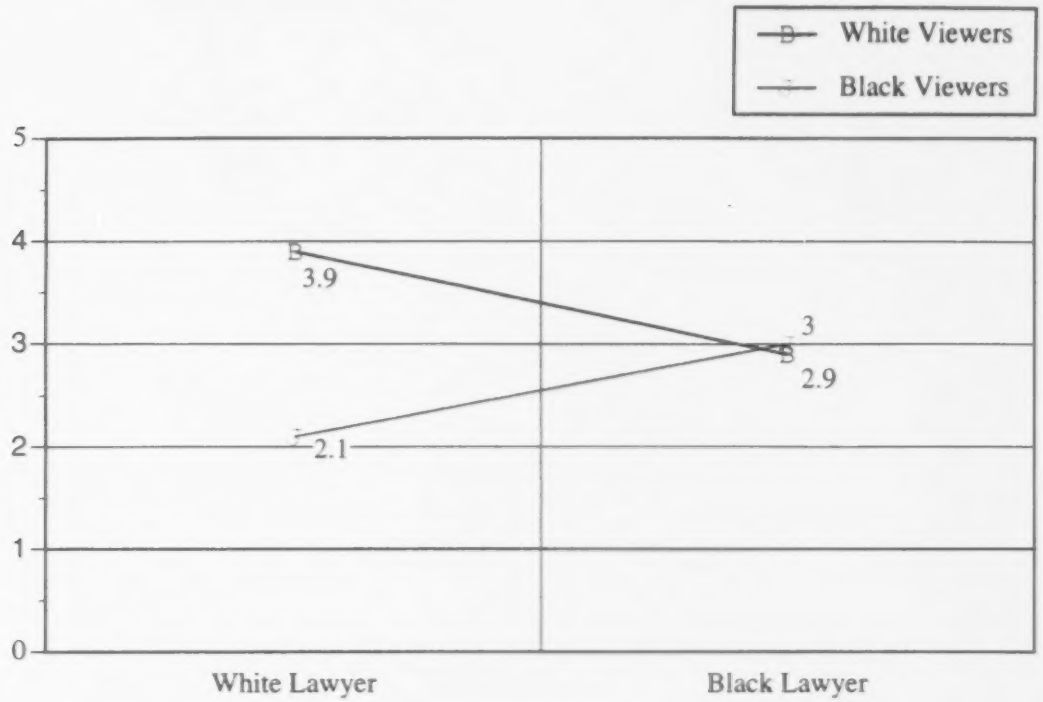


Figure 3. The effect of viewers' race and models' race on recall of lawyers

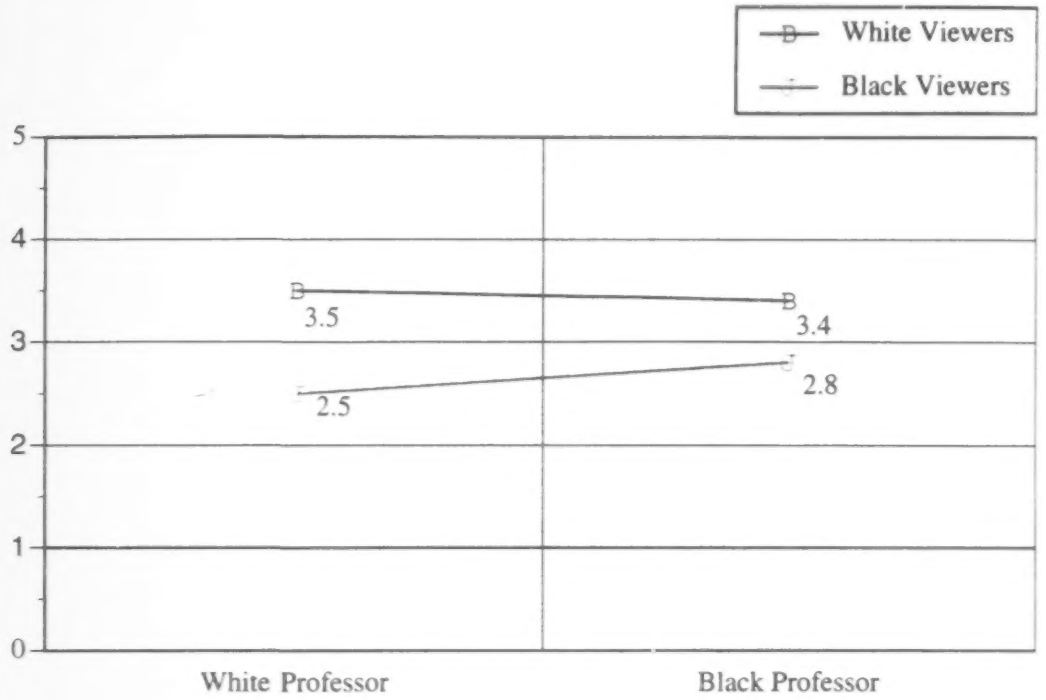


Figure 4. The effect of viewers' race and models' race on recall of professors

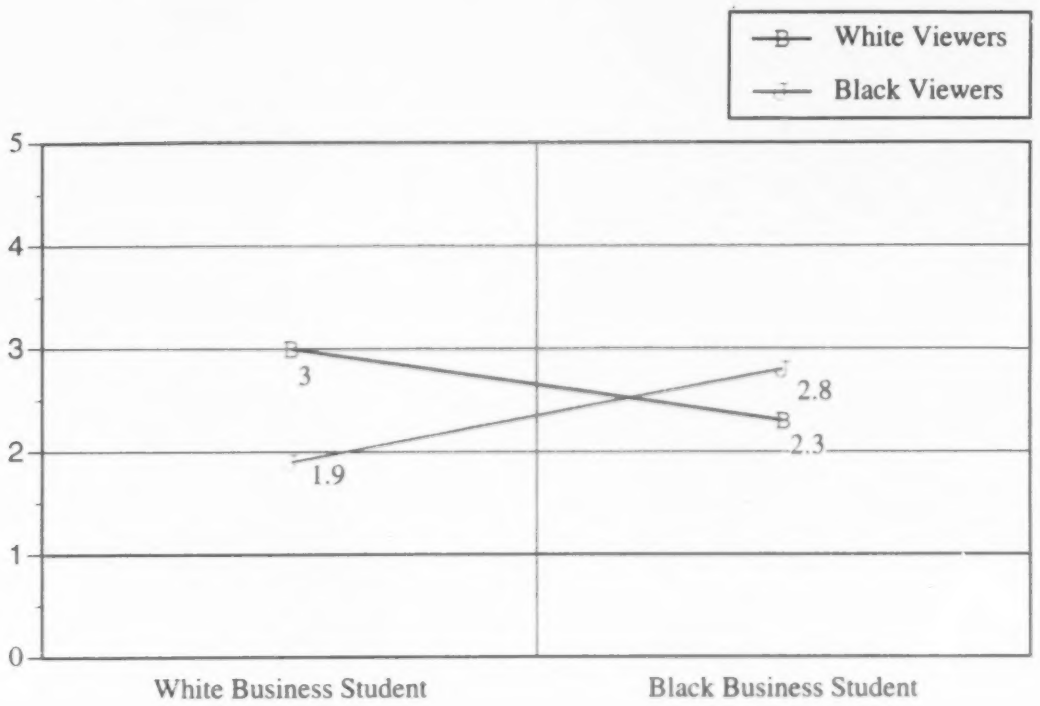


Figure 5. The effect of viewers' race and models' race on recall of business students

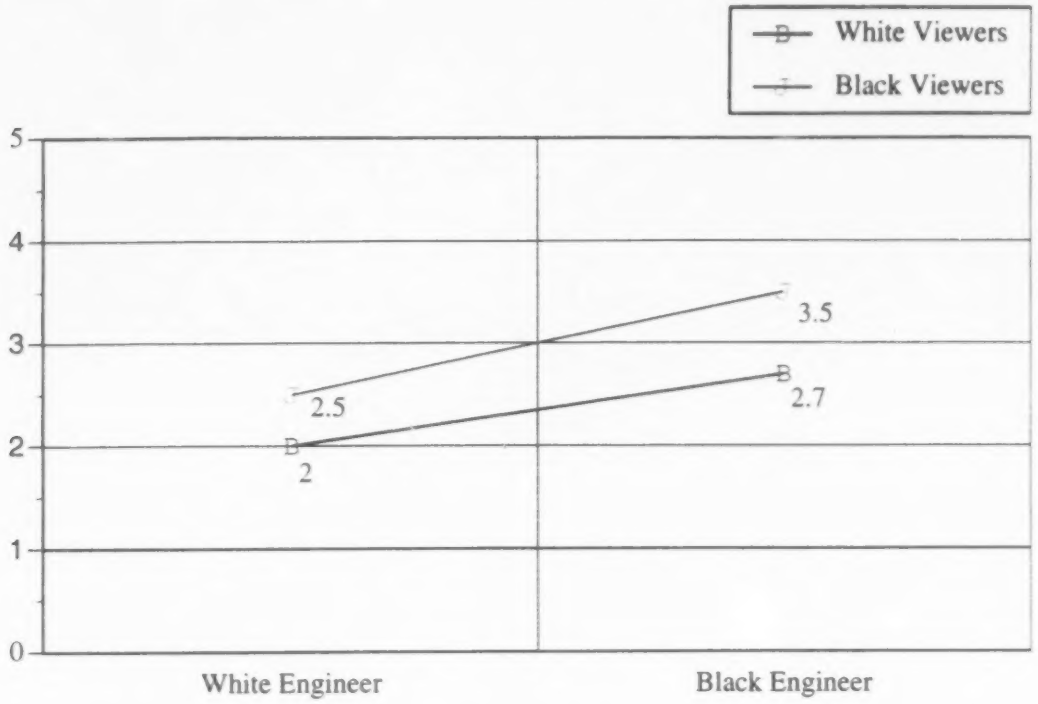


Figure 6. The effect of viewers' race and models' race on recall of engineer

THEY JUST KEEP ROLLING ALONG:

Images of Blacks in Film Versions of *Show Boat*

Douglass K. Daniel
Assistant Professor
A.Q. Miller School of Journalism and Mass Communications
105 Kedzie Hall
Kansas State University
Manhattan KS 66506
(913) 532-6890
ddaniel@ksu.edu

Presented to
Minorities and Communication Division
AEJMC 80th Annual Convention
Chicago, Illinois
July 30-August 2, 1997

THEY JUST KEEP ROLLING ALONG:

Images of Blacks in Film Versions of *Show Boat*

Introduction

Writing in 1989, historian Donald Bogle noted that American films had changed since the 1970s to include powerful black superstars like Richard Pryor and Eddie Murphy and black director Spike Lee. Yet in other ways, Bogle concluded, little had changed. "American films are still dominated by stereotypes and distortions," he contended.[1] Comparing themes and roles in movies made during different periods of time has been a primary method for tracing change – or the lack of it – in the ways in which blacks have been portrayed.[2] Studying remakes of films that feature major black characters could provide insight on how the same story can yield different portrayals, but few such stories have been filmed more than once.

An exception is *Show Boat*, a best-selling novel that was the basis for a ground-breaking Broadway musical. Hollywood studios filmed the story of life on a Mississippi showboat three times from 1929 to 1951. A television version appeared in 1989. On the surface, these versions of *Show Boat* reflect technological changes in the film industry. The 1929 Universal film came during Hollywood's transition from silent to sound movies. Universal then filmed a refined, black-and-white production using the full musical score and an advanced sound system in 1936. A lush version in Technicolor, a fledgling process in the mid-1930s, came from Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer in 1951. By 1989, the small screen presented another medium for *Show Boat*. The Public Broadcasting System's *Great Performances* series that year aired the first televised stage production of the musical.

On a deeper level, these four films represent different interpretations of the novel and,

moreover, the musical. Songs and scenes have been added, cut, and rearranged since the premiere of the musical *Show Boat* in 1927. Its creators, Jerome Kern and Oscar Hammerstein II, made many of the changes, and some are evident in the films. Actors, directors, and others involved in the productions also left their marks on the films. The result is four similar but often divergent tellings of the same story, and, consequently, different readings of the films, particularly in their representations of blacks.

The purpose of the following study is to examine the often disparate images of blacks as presented in the films and to explore the reasons for them. It might seem obvious that the way blacks were portrayed in 1989 would be different from 1929, and distinctions in treatment of blacks in the four films are clear. The most apparent is the presence of racist terms. Beyond that, however, are several other issues pertaining to black images. The very presence of blacks stands out in some versions, but in two of the films blacks are hardly seen or heard. The miscegenation scene, probably the best-known part of the story, carries different connotations in some versions and is absent in one. Most important is the treatment of Joe and Queenie, the featured black roles in the musical *Show Boat*. Strong, vibrant characters in one version, Joe and Queenie are weakened and relegated to the fringes of the screen in another. Thus, the impact of blacks – and probably their impact on audiences – varies in each version.

From Novel to Stage to Film

A silent film of a musical would be incongruous, of course, but Universal bought the rights to Edna Ferber's novel in 1926, one year before the musical debuted on Broadway. The first *Show Boat* film, then, was based on the book, not the musical.[3] Filming for the silent production began on July 31, 1928, using a full-size floating showboat for exteriors shot on the Sacramento River in California.[4] Two events, however, changed the format of the movie. First, the era of talking pictures arrived with *The Jazz Singer* in 1927 and proved to be the future rather than a fluke with *The Lights of New York* and *The Singing Fool*, both in 1928. Second, the

Kern-Hammerstein musical, which opened in December 1927, was an unparalleled success.

To keep up with public demand for talkies and the Kern-Hammerstein music, Universal added talking sequences and musical numbers to its silent *Show Boat* after buying the film rights to the Broadway musical. Its movie became a part-silent, part-talking adaptation of a novel with music from Broadway.[5] The two-hour film began with a twenty-minute prologue featuring performers from the Broadway musical singing its best-known songs. The film was not a hit. In his history of Universal in 1983, Clive Hirschhorn contended, "The magic ingredients were pounded into a very strange mixture which failed to jell, or find an audience."[6]

Seven years later, Universal tried again. The stage musical had toured the United States and was revived on Broadway in 1932, proving its popularity. This time, the film was based solely on the stage musical. Hammerstein himself wrote the screenplay, and three new songs were added to the film. One, "Ah Still Suits Me," was written specifically for Paul Robeson, who was a sensation as Joe in the London production in 1928 and the New York revival in 1932.[7] Other leading roles were filled by performers who, like Robeson, had either performed in the musical in New York or had toured in it. Several contemporary critics have called Universal's 1936 *Show Boat* the definitive version, citing its screenplay, direction (by James Whale), and superior cast (including Irene Dunne, Alan Jones, Charles Winninger, and Hattie McDaniel).[8] It was one of the most popular films of 1936.[9]

MGM, the Hollywood studio that specialized in musicals, bought the rights to *Show Boat* from Universal in 1938. The studio planned to make it a vehicle for Jeanette MacDonald and Nelson Eddy, but the pairing never happened.[10] It was not until 1951 that *Show Boat* reached the screen as an MGM production. Earlier, however, MGM used the songs in a Kern biography, *Till The Clouds Roll By*. The 1946 film, less a look at Kern's life than an excuse to fill a movie with his music, begins the night *Show Boat* opened in New York. A mini-version of the musical, the fifteen-minute sequence includes six songs and some dialogue. The movie was produced by

Arthur Freed, who five years later produced a full-fledged version of *Show Boat*, which was directed by veteran George Sidney. Under the wing of Freed, the studio's premiere producer of musicals, it boasted top production values and excellent Technicolor photography. Some critics looking back at the film have lamented its weak acting and lack of warmth.[11] Still, it was the second most popular film of 1951.[12]

Nearly four decades passed before *Show Boat* came to television in October 1989 as the opening production of that season's *Great Performances*. Three performances of the musical were filmed in June 1989 at the Paper Mill Playhouse in Millburn, New Jersey, and then edited. The television version drew on whatever Kern-Hammerstein material its producers thought would best fit the spirit of the original production.[13] In a favorable review, the *New York Times* recommended the television program for those who longed for "a great old Broadway musical, the kind whose songs keep you humming for days."[14] That *Show Boat* was specifically made for a television audience is ironic; a segment of the 1929 Universal production was telecast in London that year as part of the picture's promotion. It probably was the first motion picture to be even partially televised.[15]

A Mixed Blessing For Black Talent

The musical *Show Boat* has been performed on the stage for seventy years, a testament to its status as a classic of American musical theater. Yet, the musical has been a mixed blessing to black performers. While it has been a showcase for black talent, *Show Boat* has offered stereotyped portrayals of blacks. Joe the riverman is lazy if affable, Queenie is a mammyish cook and servant, and all of the black characters speak in dialect. Despite a foundation in stereotypes, the portrayals of Joe, Queenie, and other blacks have changed during the six decades Edna Ferber's story has been filmed. Some changes resulted in the elimination of blacks as active participants in the story. The challenge facing directors and actors concerned about black

portrayals, then, was maintaining the black presence while diminishing the stereotypes.[16]

The presence of racist terms offers the most obvious signs of change in the four film versions of *Show Boat*. The use of the word "nigger" at the beginning has prompted criticism of the musical since it opened on Broadway. William Hammerstein, the lyricist's son, has claimed that his father chose the word to point out immediately that there were two separate worlds on the stage. "The opening line is a complaint," the younger Hammerstein said, "made out of deep-seated resentment."[17] Despite the lyricist's intentions, the word and others like it were replaced or dropped for the film versions of the musical. Because it is based on the novel, the 1929 version lacks the opening lyrics. None of the titles in the silent film uses racist terms. However, when Magnolia begins her stage career in Chicago, she is billed as a "coon shouter" because she sings black songs.

The word "nigger" was the first word uttered on stage when the musical was first presented. The word was part of the opening lyrics sung by the stevedores on the river docks:

> Niggers all work on de Mississippi
> Niggers all work while de white folks play
> Loadin' up boats wid de bales of cotton
> Gittin' no rest till de Judgment Day.

A similar refrain comes later during "Ol' Man River." The word also appears several times in dialogue, such as when Pete demands to know where Queenie got her jewelry, but when it is used it is by whites in reference to blacks. The word "coon" also is used in dialogue when Magnolia auditions at the Trocadero Music Hall. Asked what she sings, Magnolia says, "I do negro songs." The manager replies, "Oh, coon songs, eh?" For the 1936 film, however, some of the words were changed. The opening lyrics became "Darkies all work on de Mississippi . . ." The word "nigger" is not used at all in the film. Pete refers to Queenie as "eight-ball" during their exchange, and the manager's line becomes "Coon shouter, eh?"

The 1946 Broadway revival saw a change in the lines, too. Kern and Hammerstein changed the first words to "colored folks." More changes in the opening lines were made when

MGM presented its versions. The condensed *Show Boat* that begins *Till The Clouds Roll By* uses the lyrics, "We all work on de Mississippi
. . ." MGM's changes for the 1951 film reflect its basic approach to black themes in the film: the opening lyrics were not used because the chorus of stevedores was cut from the scene. When actor William Warfield sings "Ol' Man River," the similar refrain is dropped as well, as are other references in the song to black oppression by whites. Other race terms, including "colored," are omitted in the 1951 film, but at one point Pete refers to the mulatto Julie as "zebra gal." The Trocadero manager further refines his line: "Oh, jazzbo singer, eh?" In its effort in 1989 to present the original *Show Boat*, the PBS production considered which opening lines to use. Given the chance to decide whether to use the original lyrics or another version, members of the black chorus opted to sing "Colored folk work on de Mississippi . . ."[18] Other racist terms are spoken as written in the original musical.

The miscegenation scene, in which Julie is exposed as a mulatto and forced to leave the showboat, is placed in varying contexts in the films. Although the 1929 film closely follows the book, it omits this controversial theme. In the film, Julie is fired by Magnolia's mother because she is a rival for her daughter's affections. The issue of mixed blood is never confronted in the silent version, but the other three films use it as a central moment of the story. Still, the scene is played differently and, therefore, has a different impact. The play calls for Julie's husband Steve to cut her hand with a knife, shocking the other characters, and to suck her blood to make true the claim that he, too, has black blood in him. The knife and shocked reactions are evident in the 1936 and 1989 films, but the MGM version sanitizes the moment. Steve uses a broach to prick her finger, a gesture almost gentle in comparison with the slashing shown in the other films. Writing in *The American Film Musical,* Rick Altman noted the effect:

> This intensely emotional scene, reminding us graphically of the importance of birth, blood, and race in the otherwise picturesque world of the Old Mississippi, is all but removed in MGM's 1951 version
> . . . thus creating no fear in the spectator.[19]

In the MGM film, the miscegenation scene leads to another important change in the story concerning black themes. It uses Julie's departure as a segue into "Ol' Man River," a song that comes earlier in the play and other film versions – and in completely different context. In the play and films, Joe sings "Ol' Man River" shortly after Magnolia meets the gambler Gaylord Ravenal. The song begins in the context of life on the river and shifts to black life in particular. Critics have noted that in the play the river serves as a metaphor of life, ever moving and filled with struggle.[20] Hammerstein himself saw the song as a statement of resignation with an implied protest made by a rugged philosopher.[21] The staging of "Ol' Man River" called for an on-stage chorus to support Joe, further evidence of the black context of the song. The 1989 film closely follows the original stage direction.

MGM presented "Ol' Man River" in *Till The Clouds Roll By,* and the studio's staging showed its tendency to downplay the black element of the story. As Joe sings, the camera immediately begins pulling back to show the entire stage. The focus is on the spectacle of the musical, not Joe or the black chorus. Although the camera returns to Joe for part of the song, it again pulls back to show a swaying chorus as the final segment of the song is performed. The black context of the song was further reduced by MGM in 1951. Joe's song is prompted by the departure of Julie, not reflections about the harshness of river life and the trials of blacks. As noted earlier, references to blacks working while whites play are deleted. So are the following lyrics, which also were eliminated in *Till The Clouds Roll By:*

> Bend your knees, an' bow your head
> An pull dat rope, until you're dead,
> Don't look up, an' don't look down
> You don't dast make, de white boss frown.
>
> Let me go 'way from de Mississippi
> Let me go 'way from de white man boss,
> Show me dat stream called de river Jordan,
> Dat's de ol' stream dat I longs to cross!

In addition, Joe sings by himself, backed by an off-screen chorus. Intercut during the song are

scenes of Julie riding away from the showboat. Granted, the scene benefits from Warfield's voice and a mood-enhancing fog, but the song, as presented by MGM, is less a statement of resignation and protest about black life than the bemoaning of the injustice toward the mulatto Julie. The scene calls for an emotional response to the "tragedy" of a woman with mixed blood, not black oppression.

Universal's 1936 production followed the staging called for in the play, but with some added touches that have the opposite impact of the MGM version. Joe sings as he sits at the docks, and the camera revolves around him, coming in for a close-up that fills the screen with Paul Robeson's face. The film then offers a startling montage of black images corresponding to the song's lyrics. As Joe sings, he is shown totting cotton bales; stretching, bare-chested and sweating, on the docks; pushing a barge; lifting a bale again; coming out of a saloon drunk; and, finally, standing behind bars in jail. The scene returns to the full close-up as Joe finishes the song. The stevedores then gather around him and join in the song. The next montage shows river scenes, blacks working in cotton fields, poling barges, and rolling cotton bales. The song ends with Joe's face in full close-up, and the scene closes with a fade-out.

Unlike the MGM film, Universal's version not only draws attention to the black context of "Ol' Man River," it heightens it through the use of the montages. Joe sings about the hardships of river life, which are illustrated graphically. A contemporary critic, Roger Dooley, said the montage achieved an "immensely moving effect."[22] Although the montage also could be criticized for offering stereotypes of Joe and other blacks, it seems to be a sincere attempt to present a seldom-seen aspect of black life. Unlike many films of the 1930s, blacks are not shown smiling through their hardships but oppressed and troubled by them.

Joe and Queenie: Changing Images

The staging of "Ol' Man River" leads to an examination of portrayals of Joe and Queenie, the main black characters in the story. Their roles vary considerably in the films, with the extreme

example the 1929 version, which does not feature either character. Although Stepin Fetchit is billed as Joe, the print in the film collection of Turner Entertainment Company does not include any scenes featuring him. Considering that the film was lost until the late 1970s (the prologue and soundtrack remain missing), it is possible that the existing version does not contain all scenes shot for the original film. It should be noted that several reviews of the film do not mention Fetchit or the characters of Joe and Queenie, indicating their roles were minor at best.[23] The question remains what Fetchit, who went on to become synonymous with the worst of black stereotypes, did or might have done with the role of Joe.

Hammerstein intended Joe to serve as a one-man Greek chorus in the play.[24] To this end, he is positioned in the balcony as the miscegenation scene takes place. Joe watches over the humiliation of Julie, and his presence can be interpreted as a silent comment on the action. As filmed in 1936, Paul Robeson's face conveys the emotion of the moment. The impact is heightened by the fact that he is alone, standing over the other characters, and shown in close-up. In MGM's version, Joe is merely one of several characters who stand near Julie as she is confronted about her heritage. Joe runs after her to say good-bye and then begins singing "Ol' Man River." Although the 1989 version follows the stage play, the choice of shots of the action on the stage diminishes Joe's presence in the miscegenation scene. His presence in the balcony is not known until he softly intones "Ol' Man River" as Julie prepares to leave. The theater audience would have seen him, but the film audience does not.

Another moment in the MGM film also weakens Joe's character. After Pete argues with Julie, her husband knocks him into the river during a fight. Joe helps Pete up and then begs him not to make trouble for Julie. It is the only scene other than "Ol' Man River" in which Joe has a significant part. Tending to the needs of the racist white man, Joe comes across as weak-hearted at best. It is a far cry from Robeson's powerful portrayal in the 1936 film. But, then, Robeson had the advantage of being closely associated with the role; Kern and Hammerstein wanted him to play

the part in the original production, but he was not available.[25] When the 1936 film was made, the role was tailored to Robeson's status as a star and assigned another song, "Ah Still Suits Me."

Joe and Queenie support each other in one scene in the play, and the new song written for Robeson gave the characters another. The first scene takes place in the showboat's kitchen, where Julie and Magnolia talk about love and Julie sings "Can't Help Lovin' Dat Man." Queenie says it is funny to hear a white woman sing a black song, foreshadowing Julie's troubles. When Joe enters the kitchen, Queenie begins singing "at" Joe, complaining about his laziness but confessing she loves him just the same. Other black singers join in, and Magnolia begins to shuffle. The scene ends with everyone singing and dancing. As filmed in 1936, the scene contains stereotypes of shuffling blacks, and Irene Dunne's slack-jawed interpretation of black dancing probably is embarrassing for the contemporary viewer.

The shuffling is toned down in the 1989 version, which includes a high-stepping dance that seems too modern for the period. Significantly, the scene in the most recent version ends with Joe and Queenie embracing as Queenie sings the last lines of "Can't Help Lovin' Dat Man," and they kiss. As staged, the scene downplays the shuffling stereotypes so evident in the 1936 version and uses the moment to show the bond between Joe and Queenie. The MGM version does just the opposite. The scene takes place on the upper deck of the Cotton Blossom, and Julie and Magnolia sing and dance alone. The film eliminates another scene from the play that featured black characters.

The Paper Mill Playhouse chose to include "Ah Still Suits Me" in its 1989 production. Joe performs the song, a defense of being lazy, in the kitchen to the consternation of Queenie. While the scene is playful, it can be criticized as reinforcing the stereotype of the lazy, shiftless black man. The placement of the song differs in the two films. In 1936, the song comes on the stormy night Magnolia's daughter is born. Joe then sets out to bring a doctor to the showboat. In the PBS version, the song comes near the end of the production, after the action has moved to the 1920s. For Joe and Queenie, now elderly and graying, the scene shows they still love each other

and have maintained a sense of playfulness and respect in their relationship.

Queenie's other contributions to the story also differ dramatically. The character has two other important scenes in the play, one coming after the arrival of the showboat. Pete, the white worker who exposes Julie, demands to know where Queenie got her jewelry; it's a gift from Pete to Julie that she then gave to Queenie. In the play, Queenie refuses to implicate Julie, answering defiantly, "Ax me no questions 'n ah'll tell y' no lies! . . . Dat man! Axin' me where I get my jewelry." Only the 1951 film varies from the exchange, and in an important way. Instead of refusing to answer Pete, Queenie timidly answers, "I ain't stole nothin,' Mr. Pete. Miss Julie give it to me out of the kindness of her big heart." Queenie has no other significant dialogue in the MGM film, which reduces her character to a quivering cameo. Ebony magazine noted at the time that the MGM film presented Queenie without a bandana-wrapped head. Although dissatisfied with the film, the magazine looked favorably on the removal of what it called "the mammy effect" from Queenie.[26] The roles in the 1936 and 1989 version are closer to stereotyped mammy roles, but Queenie hardly exists in the MGM film.

Queenie's other main scene, present only in the play and the 1989 production, comes when Captain Andy asks her why blacks are not coming to the show. Telling him that he is not getting their attention, Queenie goes into a song titled "Ballyhoo," a pitch for blacks to come to the show that night. The song ends with a dance by Queenie, the stevedores, and their women. In one sense, the scene subtly shows the difficulty whites have communicating with blacks. In practical terms, the song probably was cut from the 1936 and 1951 films to help keep them under two hours long. It's an important scene because it reaffirms Queenie's strong character and vivacious manner – and gives the actress in the role another showcase for her talents.

Excluding the story's main black characters, Joe and Queenie, the presence of blacks in the story can be subtly manipulated. At stake is the audience's realization that the story is taking place in a segregated society. For instance, each of the films opens with the showboat being greeted by throngs of whites and blacks from the nearby town. Segregation is noticeable, though, at the

evening's performance. In the 1929, 1936, and 1989 versions, black and white members of the audience are clearly separated. They enter the showboat on different gangplanks, and blacks sit in the balcony while whites take chairs on the floor. Both groups are shown enjoying the performances on stage. The 1951 version does not include scenes of blacks entering the showboat, and no scenes of blacks in the balcony are used during the performance segment.

Blacks also are on hand during the miscegenation scene. The 1936 and 1989 films follow the play's call for blacks to follow the sheriff into the theater as he confronts Julie during a daytime rehearsal. The MGM film places the action just before Julie goes on stage that night, and the only blacks in sight are Joe and Queenie, whose roles are minimal. The staging of "Ol' Man River" also calls for blacks in the chorus, and the 1936 and 1989 versions include some close-ups of members of the chorus. The close-ups heighten the impact of their singing, lending faces to the voices. The 1951 film eliminates an on-screen chorus, leaving the singing up to Joe.

Finally, treatment of a minor black character in the story serves as a microcosm of the approaches to blacks in the four films. In the play, Julie, now the headliner at the Trocadero but mired in drink and personal woes, gives up her job so Magnolia will be hired. She leaves the club to go on a drinking spree, leaving Charlie the doorman to tell the manager of her departure. "Good God, man, why didn't yuh stop her?" the manager demands. Charlie replies, "Say, I'm a doorman, not a nurse-maid!" The scene is not in the 1929 film, which does not deal with miscegenation. In the 1936 version, the doorman becomes a janitor who answers somewhat meekly and goes on about his business. No black is in sight at the nightclub in the MGM version. Interestingly, the 1989 television version stages the scene as written, but Charlie's response – "I'm a doorman, not a nurse-maid!" – is stronger and accompanied by a defiant wave of his hand when the manager turns his back. A subtle change, perhaps, but one that makes a weak black character stronger.

Conclusions

The four versions of *Show Boat* seem to reflect attitudes towards blacks that were prevalent in the United States at the time they were produced. Similarly, the films probably reflect their makers' attitudes of how to deal with controversy over the portrayal of blacks. The 1929 film, in its surviving form, presents blacks only in the background of the story. Universal's remake in 1936 developed black themes, although they were presented stereotypically. By 1951, MGM appeared to have avoided controversy by diminishing the black roles to such an extent that they are as inconsequential to the story as they probably were in the 1929 version. The television production, which came after decades of protest and discussion of black images on film, attempts to be faithful to the original musical without being racially offensive.

Paul Robeson was praised and damned by some members of the black press for his work in *Show Boat*. While his performance on the London stage in 1928 was favorably received, he was sharply criticized for playing a stereotype.[27] "If anyone were to call him a 'nigger' he'd be the first to get offended," wrote the *Amsterdam News*, a black New York paper, "and there he is singing 'nigger, nigger' before all those white people."[28] Similar criticism came after the 1936 film. "Many blacks and the Negro and Jewish press were highly critical of the shabby, lazy, loyal character he played," biographer Dorothy Butler Gilliam later wrote.[29] *The Black Man*, a monthly magazine published by Marcus Garvey, denounced Robeson at the time for using "his genius to appear in pictures and plays that tend to dishonour, mimic, discredit and abuse the cultural attainments of the Black Race."[30]

The creators of the 1951 MGM film probably were aware of the view that *Show Boat* was insulting to blacks. They could have altered the ways in which Joe and Queenie were portrayed to diminish the stereotypes, doing more than removing Queenie's bandana. Changing the play apparently was not a problem; wholesale changes were made in the story to heighten its romantic aspects. But when it came to black portrayals, MGM all but eliminated the black characters. Still,

Ebony noted that the story had "come a long way" since the 1927 stage version and the two earlier movies, but the black magazine lamented Hollywood's reluctance to part with stereotypes. "*Show Boat* . . . still will be strongly resented by Negro audiences," the magazine wrote, adding that the musical remains "primarily a period piece that portrays Negroes in an offensive minstrel-show manner as objectionable as *Uncle Tom*'s *Cabin.*"[31]

Controversy over the musical *Show Boat* continued into its sixth decade. In a review of the 1989 PBS version, *Washington Post* television critic Tom Shales noted that the production emphasized the entertainment value of the show rather than its social context:

> The good side is we do not hear, on the opening chorus, an offensive racial epithet . . . Authentic or not, it was jarring and inappropriate. No sane cause is served by this kind of misplaced fidelity . . . As much as possible, the archaic racial attitudes and stereotypes present in the original appear to have been softened. Changing a "dat" to a "that"does *Show Boat* no harm.[32]

Sylvie Drake, a theater writer for the *Los Angeles Times,* criticized Opera Pacific's 1990 production for "bowdlerizing"the lyrics because of complaints that they are racially insensitive.

> The treatment of blacks in 1927 was not nice. Eschewing the word is truly offensive, since it sanitizes a version already too squeaky clean by the glossing over of the harsher aspects of black life – aspects that the 1927 show had the honesty and guts to explore.[33]

In 1993 a multimillion-dollar revival in Toronto that was bound for Broadway elicited bitter protests by some in the black community who recalled the stereotypes of the novel and the 1927 stage production. Director Harold Prince and producer Garth Dabrinsky refused to allow an advance reading of the script, even though they planned numerous changes regarding the racial elements of the story, and picket lines went up at the box office. Yet, the production earned positive critical notices and enjoyed a popular run on Broadway before beginning a tour of the United States.[34]

Should the film versions of *Show Boat* be dismissed as period pieces more interesting for their historical value than their entertainment value? Perhaps, but labeling

the films as racially offensive and therefore unworthy of viewing risks the loss of fine performances by blacks. Black film historian Donald Bogle, for one, suggests that the 1936 film is worth watching because of the ability of Robeson and Hattie McDaniel to rise above their material. Admitting that the two are cast as servants, Bogle adds that Robeson and McDaniel perform "with such assurance that the movie serves them (and their talents) instead."

> When Robeson sings the lyrics about toting that barge and lifting that bale and spending another night in jail, he is seen in the most stereotyped of montage sequences. But one forgets all that. The voice – the power, resonance, and most importantly, the conviction in it – makes the sequence itself one of the most memorable in American movie musical history.[35]

The four film versions of *Show Boat* illustrate how subtle as well as overt changes in the same story can produce disparate images of blacks in film. Comparing key sequences reveals the folly of approaching the challenge of portraying blacks without stereotypes merely by cutting scenes. Starting with *Till The Clouds Roll By*, MGM converted the story into an extravagant Technicolor romance; under the banner of Leo the lion, the story became whiter as it became brighter. The PBS production is evidence that by restaging scenes and carefully directing the performances of actors, productions of *Show Boat* can celebrate the participation of blacks instead of diminish them. Indeed, Joe and Queenie are arguably the strongest characters in the story. Unlike those of the white couples, their relationship lasts through the years. Portraying blacks with insight and compassion will help *Show Boat* keep rolling along into the next century.

NOTES

1. Donald Bogle, *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies, and Bucks: An Interpretive History of Blacks in American Films,* 2nd ed. (New York: Continuum, 1989), pp. xiv-xv.

2. In addition to Bogle's book, see Daniel J. Leab, *From Sambo to Superspade: The Black Experience in Motion Pictures* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976).

3. Jerry Vermilye, *The Films of the Thirties* (Secaucus, N.J.: The Citadel Press, 1982), p. 168.

4. Miles Kreuger, *Show Boat: The Story of a Classic American Musical* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 79.

5. Ethan Mordden, *The Hollywood Musical* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), pp. 11-12.

6. Clive Hirshhorn, *The Universal Story* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1983), p. 61.

7. David Ewen, *The World of Jerome Kern* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1960), pp. 99-100.

8. See Vermilye, *Films of the Thirties,* p. 168; Roger Dooley, *From Scarface to Scarlett: American Films in the 1930's* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979), p. 469; Ethan Mordden, *The Hollywood Studios* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988), p. 332; and Ted Sennett, *Hollywood Musicals* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1981), p. 149.

9. Cobbett S. Steinberg, *Film Facts* (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1980), p. 18.

10. James Robert Parish and Gregory W. Mank, *The Best of MGM: The Golden Years (1928-59)* (Westport, Conn.: Arlington House Publishers, 1981), p. 191.

11. See Mordden, *Hollywood Studios,* p. 167; and Sennett, *Hollywood Musicals,* p. 275.

12. Steinberg, *Film Facts,* p. 21.

13. "The 'Original 'Show Boat' Comes to TV, Via New Jersey," *New York Times,* October 22, 1989, p. 37B.

14. "'Show Boat' Skirts Nuances to Concentrate on the Fun," *New York Times,* October 27, 1989, p. 34C.

15. Krueger, *Show Boat,* pp. 97-98.

16. Each of the films was viewed on videotape. The 1929 film is not in video distribution, but Turner Entertainment Company provided a tape of the silent *Show Boat* from its archives for this study. A tape of the PBS *Great Performances* program was provided by WOUB-TV in Athens, Ohio.

17. "The 'Original 'Show Boat' Comes to TV, Via New Jersey," *New York Times,* October 22,

1989, p. 37B.

18. Ibid., p. 37B.

19. Rick Altman, *The American Film Musical* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 286.

20. See Mordden, *Hollywood Musical,* p. 98; and "'Show Boat' Skirts Nuances to Concentrate on the Fun," *New York Times,* October 27, 1989, p. 34C.

21. Ewen, *World of Jerome Kern,* p. 89.

22. Dooley, *From Scarface to Scarlett,* p. 470.

23. See "The Screen," *New York Times,* April 18, 1929, p. 32; "Talking Shorts: 'Show Boat,'" *Variety,* April 24, 1929, p. 13; and "The Movies: 'Show Boat,'" *The Outlook,* May 22, 1929, p. 155.

24. Gerald Bordman, *Jerome Kern: His Life and Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 276.

25. Dorothy Butler Gilliam, *Paul Robeson: All-American* (Washington, D.C.: New Republic Co., Inc., 1976), p. 50.

26. "Musical Shows Change in Racial Approach," *Ebony,* June 1951, p. 71.

27. Gilliam, *Paul Robeson: All-American,* p. 52.

28. *Amsterdam News,* October 3, 1928, as quoted by Martin Bauml Duberman, *Paul Robeson* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988), p. 114.

29. Gilliam, *Paul Robeson: All-American,* p. 85.

30. *The Black Man,* January 1937, as quoted in Duberman, *Paul Robeson,* p. 203.

31. "Musical Shows Change in Racial Approach," *Ebony,* June 1951, p. 71.

32. "'Show Boat': Tuneful Trip on PBS," *Washington Post,* October 27, 1989, p. 1B.

33. "Sanitized 'Show Boat' Still Steams Along," *Los Angeles Times,* July 16, 1990, p. 1F.

34. Robin Breon, 'Show Boat': The Revival, the Racism," *The Drama Review* 39, 2 (T146) Summer 1995, pp. 86-105.

35. Donald Bogle, *Blacks in American Films and Television: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1988), p. 190.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

"LIKE THE SUN PIERCING THE CLOUDS: Native American Tribal Newspapers and Their Functions"

ABSTRACT. In a content analysis of news content, three Native American tribal newspapers were examined for the functions of surveillance, correlation, transmission of culture and entertainment. For these three cases, the findings indicate that these tribal newspapers seldom perform an interpretive or propaganda function. Instead, the analysis shows that nearly 90 percent of the time, the common goal of the three newspapers was to keep tribal members informed of activities of the tribal government, elected tribal officials and tribal members.

Teresa Trumbly Lamsam
Univ. of Missouri School of Journalism
Doctoral student
1C Broadway Village Dr.
Columbia, MO 65201
TALAMSAM@aol.com

"Like the sun piercing the clouds: Native American tribal newspapers and their functions"

Introduction

At their inception, tribal newspapers of the 1800s reflected an intra-tribal unity of thought and mission that would be envied by American Indian leaders of today. When those early leaders could no longer stave off white encroachment by traditional means, they attempted to stop the hemorrhaging of their social heritage and very existence by turning to a new storyteller—the tribal newspaper. The primary function of the early newspapers was to fight and warn against encroachment of the white society.

In terms of ideology, the emerging Indian newspapers of the mid-1800s, which existed until the Oklahoma land runs began in 1889 (Champagne, p.239), were stalwart advocates of Indian rights and for a while, formidable fortresses against white encroachment. More than a century later, today's tribal press fights more for its self-preservation than for societal rights and tribal survival. Today's press would seem to fight not against encroachment of the outside world but rather against disinterest by Native Americans in their own tribal government.

The current American Indian tribal press is probably best known among mass media practitioners for its shortcomings, not its accomplishments. Perhaps this is because only a handful of scholars have examined this faction of the ethnic minority media or because Indian journalists are the medium's most vocal critics. These journalists are quick to point out the illegitimacy of the tribal press: censorship by the tribal government (Fitzgerald, 1994; Stein, 1992, 1994).

If the functions of the tribal press are for nothing other than dissemination of official propaganda and to serve as extollers of officialdom's accomplishments, then the label of "illegitimate" may have merit. But clear, delineated functions of the tribal press are not known. Unfortunately, before tribal governments will again use their tribal newspapers as advocates of their culture and fortresses against encroachment of the dominant society, whether political or economic, the question of function has to be addressed.

This study attempts to take a step in the direction of answering the question by conducting a functional analysis of the U.S. tribal press using content analysis. The content of selected newspapers will be measured and categorized for function, and this will be done to test the thesis that the content of each paper will fall into four categories of function as articulated by Lasswell (1960) and Wright (1986): 1) surveillance, 2) correlation, 3) transmission of culture and 4) entertainment.

Using accepted functions of mainstream media, this study will extend existing knowledge by exploring the extent to which the four functions appear in a subculture's communication medium. Also, the study will compliment and expand the historical analyses of the tribal press and their forays into the function and role of the early day tribal press. However, another rationale, although not scholarly in concept, also underlies this

study. Before tribal governments will see their communication media as having potential for beneficial functions, tribal officials and elders must view their newspapers as an untapped resource and to achieve that end requires a change in their mindset. This change may not occur unless the tribal press is seen as something other than a corporate newsletter or a propaganda tool for elected officials.

Literature Review

For more than four decades, the pioneering functional analysis of mass communication by Harold Lasswell (1948, 1960) and later contributions by Charles Wright (1986) have guided research on the functions and structure of press systems. Since then, others have built onto the basic four functions with varying degrees of success.

To study a communication system in relation to its roles in social process, Lasswell distinguished three functions: (1) surveillance of the environment; (2) correlation of the parts of society in responding to the environment; and (3) transmission of the social heritage from one generation to the next. (1960, p. 118) Wright (1986) further clarified the functions and added the fourth, entertainment. He explained *surveillance or handling of news* as "the collection and distribution of information concerning events in the environment, both outside and within any particular society" (1986, p.9). *Correlation* was expanded to include "prescription for conduct in reaction" to events in the environment (editorial and propaganda) and *transmission of social heritage* clarified to mean "communicating of knowledge, values, and social norms from one generation to another or from members of a group to newcomers (educational activity). The fourth function, *entertainment*, serves to provide respite from problems and to fill leisure time (Severin & Tankard, 1992, p. 295).

The contributions by Lasswell and Wright served as springboards for a plethora of studies and theories on the origins or causality of the functions. Lasswell paved the way with his analogy of biological equivalencies. He suggested that the communication functions were an innate process present at every level of life (1960, p. 118-119). Just as the single-celled organism requires stimuli to respond to changes in the environment to maintain internal equilibrium, so do animal and human societies, in which certain members act as sentinels.

On a sociological level, Lasswell examined the functions in relationship to values. In society, values are shaped and distributed by institutions, which include communications. The communications are referred to as the ideology (1960, p. 123). Functions are therefore evolved in support of that societal network.

Scholars have continued to address pertinent sociological questions in the field, such as the effects of the functions on the individual and society. Others have searched for what determines and even creates the function and structure of mass media—all trying to answer the age-old question: What came first; was it the

chicken or the egg?

A generalization that can be drawn from this seems to be that the function and structure of a press system emerge from integration with a socio-economic and political system.

In a collection of essays encompassing press systems across the globe, *Four Theories of the Press* , (Siebert, Peterson, & Schramm, 1956), sought to answer the question: Why does the press serve different purposes and appear in widely different forms in different countries? This research yielded the theory that "the press always takes on the form and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates." Therefore "philosophical and political rationales or theories" create the function and structure of a press.

A year after *Four Theories*, Daniel Lerner (1957, 1960) studied the interaction of information flow within a social system. He specifically addressed the transition of communication from an oral to a media system and found that it correlated with behavioral changes in a social system (1960, p. 133). Lerner skirted the chicken and egg question and proposed that a press system was both the index and agent of change. To test the hypothesis, he created a correlation matrix that aligned types of communication systems with a profile of economic, political and cultural variables. However, the relationships between the variables and system did not test correlation with function and structure but rather against change in communication type.

In a broader sense, Wright presented the functions as the activities of social communication (1986, p. 23). A press system was simply an institutionalized form of social communication and did not exist in isolation from other social institutions, such as government.

Although an empirical functional analysis of the American Indian press has yet to be performed, historical overviews of the press have provided descriptive insights of the purposes of the early Indian press system. What we know is that 19th Century Indian nations threw money at tribal publications as though they were an army in themselves. Tribes would often send editors on trips to the North to raise funds from wealthy whites and religious groups. At one time, tribal governments viewed the press as their most powerful weapon against the outside society that threatened their existence.

One of the prolific writers of tribal press history, Sharon Murphy (1977) placed the development of the newspapers in terms of social context and examined functions in an in-depth analysis of a few publications, which included the *Cherokee Phoenix*, the first tribal newspaper. She found that the primary function of the first newspapers (mid-1800s) to be educational. They were designed specifically to promote among Indians a better chance for successful encounters with a world increasingly populated by whites. In general, she found the functions of the tribal press to be: watchdog (surveillance), teacher, advocate (correlation), and booster of heritage (transmission of culture) and accomplishments.

> Reading those first (1800s) Native American papers, one senses that the editors seemed aware of the inevitable: it was only a matter of time before tribal lands were surrounded and stolen. So their people needed to be able to read, write and converse in white society's language, in order to stand a chance for survival in the collision of cultures (1977, p. 79).

In Murphy's assessment, the birth of the *Cherokee Phoenix* grew out of the Cherokee Council's recognition that they needed a fast-acting educational program to survive or fight removal from their homelands. Apparently the council's strategy was effective. In 1832, Georgia authorities seized the Cherokee "weapon" and used the newspaper until 1834 to encourage emigration to the new territory (1977, p. 79-82).

An agent in Oklahoma regarded the tribal newspapers as the main educational influence among the Indians. Robert L. Owens, the agent, wrote in 1888: "I regard this tendency to public discussion like the sun piercing the clouds. ...Public discussion will eradicate error and educate the public. It will create intelligent public opinion and moderate partisanship..." (1977, p. 79).

From another perspective, more forces were at work than just those seen from the tribal viewpoint. In her biography of Cherokee editor Elias Boudinot, Luebke (1982) wrote about the outside political and social forces that brought about the birth of the *Cherokee Phoenix*. Religious, racial, and labor oppression had already given birth to the specialized press in America. From 1801 to 1833, the number of newspapers rose from 200 to 1200, and included among that number were the anti-slavery, labor, religious, and literary newspapers, all created to counteract prejudice, provide information and to offer inspiration (Luebke, 1982, p. 124).

Tribal press historians have served as the vanguard, clearing a path for research into today's Indian media, including studies that may lead to assessments of the effectiveness of tribal newspapers, in turn providing a prescription for change. A description of the communication activities of the tribal press could serve as a cornerstone in the field of tribal media. This study begins building that foundation by examining only a small number of tribal-government newspapers. However, commonalities among functions of these newspapers are expected and hypothesized.

H_1: The press function of "transmission of culture" will occur most often in Native American newspapers.

Dispersion of members, which varies per tribe, and assimilation into mainstream society make this necessary. Whereas in the 1800s, cultural norms did not have to be taught because the tribal communities were still intact, this is no longer true. Today, few tribes have the majority of their membership living on the reservation or within council jurisdiction. For example, the Osage Nation (Oklahoma) has a dispersion rate (members living off the reservation) of nearly 70 percent. Also, dispersed members are more likely to have interest in cultural concerns rather than political. Culturally-related stories are less likely to draw criticism from

the government. In other words, this is a safe area for the editor.

H_2: Within the function of correlation, content will more often fall into a subcategory of internal rather than external correlation and within the booster subcategory rather than exposer.[1]

These papers are owned by tribal governments who have a history of censoring the newspapers, promoting themselves and discouraging close examination of government activities.

H_3: Within the function of surveillance, content will more often fall into a subcategory of internal rather than external surveillance and within instrumental rather than exposure.

Tribal newspapers do not have adequate staffing, training or resources to report extensively on external surveillance issues.

Sample

The sample consisted of three tribal newspapers of the nations of Cherokee, Creek, and Sac and Fox. The issues were chosen from a three-year time period, 1993-95. The ability to obtain copies of the same time period for each newspaper played the deciding role in choosing the year range. The sample was further stratified per year by seasonal division:

Winter: December, January, February
Spring: March, April, May
Summer: June, July, August
Autumn: September, October and November

Instead of breaking the year into quarters of subsequent months, a seasonal division was used because most tribal ceremonies and culturally-related events (which impact government activity) are based on seasons. Also, each tribe would have different ceremonial and election months. The stratification controlled for the possibility of the researcher being sent the year's "best" editions.

Availability of issues differed in each tribe, so a random drawing of months was made for each newspaper. The request for issues was faxed to the tribal newspaper editor with the criterion that if a substitution was necessary, then the substitute should come from the same season. The following sample resulted:

The Muscokee Nation News: April, August, November, and December.
Sac and Fox News: May, August, October, and December.
Cherokee Advocate: February, March, June, and October.

The three newspapers chosen for the study come from a common geographical region but differ greatly

[1] The sub-categories mentioned in hypothesis 2 and 3 are discussed and defined in the Methodology section.

in terms of size, both in membership and in terms of the structure of the publication itself. Other considerations, such as budget, structure and history, were also used when selection of the papers was made. Another determinant was availability of the papers. Many tribes do not keep a significant number of back issues of their newspapers, and then only special editions are normally saved.

The Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma and its newspaper, the *Cherokee Advocate*, is the largest tribe (second largest in the United States) and newspaper examined in this study. The Cherokee's size, prominence and press history make this newspaper a given in importance to a study of the tribal press. In terms of tribal press history, more is published on the Cherokee newspapers and editors then any other Indian press. The *Cherokee Phoenix*, the first Indian newspaper, was established in 1828, a few years after the first formal petition by colonists to the U.S. government for the removal of the Cherokees (Champagne, 1994, p.140). The U.S. Congress voted for Indian removal on May 28, 1930, but the Cherokees persisted for eight years, despite the discovery of gold on their land in 1829 (1994, p. 145), which only served as a stronger motivator to remove the Indians. In 1835, the governor of Georgia used state militia to seize the Cherokee presses. Soon after, bands of the Cherokee began leaving, but formal removal did not occur until May 1838 (1994, p. 162).

The membership of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma exceeds 175,000, however fewer than half of the tribal members live in Oklahoma (Reddy, 1993). The tribe's public affairs department, under the direction of Director and Editor Dan Agent, produce the monthly *Advocate*, which circulates to nearly 5,000 subscribers. Twice yearly, the paper reaches 75,000 members in a mass mailing.

Agent reports directly to the Cherokee Administration Office (under direction of the chief). His staff includes two reporters, two photographers, publication coordinator and a part-time graphic artist. The staff also doubles as the public relations staff of the tribe. Salaries are budgeted at $300,000 annually. The paper's mission, as orchestrated by the administration, is to "maximize the positive image of the nation in serving the Cherokee membership" (personal communication, Agent).

The *Advocate* is an 11x13 tabloid averaging 24 pages per issue, including paid advertising.

At an 8,100 circulation (one per household), *The Muscogee Nation News*, published by the Creek Nation in Oklahoma, nearly doubles the Cherokee monthly circulation, and the Creek membership, 40,675 citizens, is less than 25 percent of the Cherokee membership. The cost per year to publish the *Muscogee News* is $220,000, including salary for three full-time employees.

A reporter and administrative assistant report to Editor Jim Wolfe, who is responsible to the tribal administration. The Creek paper is also an 11x13 tabloid with normal runs of 8 to 12 pages with no advertising.

The Creek Nation, who refer to themselves in their language as Muscogee, is now headquartered in Okmulgee, Oklahoma, on 4,061 acres of land. Unlike the Cherokee, the majority of Muscogees, 31,922, live in Oklahoma (personal communication, Nov. 5, 1996). Their aboriginal lands were located in states of Alabama and Georgia. Beginning in 1836, nearly 15,000 Creeks, of which 3,500 died, walked the forced journey to Indian Territory (Leitch, 1979, p. 141).

The Sac and Fox Nation in Oklahoma publishes a monthly 11x14 tabloid with normal runs of 8 pages, including paid advertising. The *Sac and Fox News* circulates to 1,700 of the 2,500 membership. Dispersion statistics of the membership are unknown. An annual budget of $25,000 covers costs of mailing, printing and salary of one reporter. An additional $37,000 for Editor Michael Dodson comes from a tribal administration budget. Dodson also functions as the spokesperson for the tribe.

The Sauk (now spelled Sac) and Fox developed a political and cultural association in the early 1700s. Both tribes were forced to their Illinois lands by the French and other tribes (Leitch, 1979, p.411). They later accepted a reservation in Kansas, and in 1867, they were moved to Indian Territory.

METHODOLOGY

Content analysis was used to evaluate quantitatively the extent to which these tribal newspapers fulfilled the four functions of surveillance, correlation, transmission of culture and entertainment. The study considered manifest or apparent content per unit of analysis appropriate for measurement. Units were not analyzed in a qualitative framework in which interpretation by the researcher, who has an inherent knowledge of issues relevant to the tribal press, would bias coding results.

To control for interpretation bias, the researcher used the functional definitions as determined by Lasswell and Wright and then further defined the basic four functions with sub-categories.

Categories of Function

I. **SURVEILLANCE**: Informs and provides news.

A. **Warning**—News of natural danger or threatening situation. (Examples: health stories on diabetes or alcoholism; U.S. congressional bills attacking sovereignty; livestock or crop diseases.)

B. **Instrumental**—News essential to the economy, tribal entities or members written in informative rather than interpretive tone. (Examples: Notice of social services such as commodities programs, elections, scholarships, schedules, tribal council meetings.)

C. **Exposure**—Non-essential informative units that expose the reader to personalities, events, or entities. (Examples: personality profiles, event promotions, student news or appointments to office.)

A unit of surveillance was coded as either *Warning*, *Instrumental* or *Exposure* and then further coded as *Internal* or *External*, as defined below:

Internal Surveillance: A unit was marked as "internal" if it concerned only intra-tribal issues, events or personalities. For instance, if an article discussed registration for an upcoming tribal election, it was marked as internal. In cases such as health articles concerning diabetes or other illnesses common to Native Americans as

a whole, the coder considered the unit as internal.
External Surveillance: A unit was marked as "external" if it concerned inter-tribal issues or relationships outside the tribal culture and administration, such as dealings with state and federal agencies and outside businesses and organizations. If an article discussed availability of scholarships at a university or highlighted an outside court case that could affect the tribe, that unit was marked as external.

II. **CORRELATION**—Selection and interpretation of information about the tribal socio economic environment (editorial and propaganda content). An article may enforce tribal social norms by consensus or exposing deviants; confer status by highlighting opinion leaders; operate as a check on government; impede threats to social stability; and manage or monitor public opinion (Severin, 1992, p. 296).

A. **Booster**—Preserves or extends power of tribal government by:

- Creating pseudo-events (an event contrived to obtain publicity) (Weiner, 1990), images or personalities;
- attributing political, economic or societal power/stability to tribal government, party or leaders; or
- depicting officials or opinion leaders as moral, intelligent, lawful or right-thinking. B. **Exposer**—Units that attribute political, economic and social conflict, disorganization, instability and/or weakness to a government, its leaders or citizens. Depicts government leaders or citizens as immoral, unlawful or wrong-thinking.

A correlation unit was categorized as either Booster or Exposer and then determined as internal or external as defined by the following definitions:
Internal Correlation: A unit was marked as "internal" is it concerned only intra-tribal issues, persons or organizations. For instance, an article might expose corrupt management practices of a tribal business, such as bingo (Exposer). Or, an article might highlight an elected official's accomplishments (Booster).
External Correlation: A unit is marked as "external" if it concerns inter-tribal issues or relationships outside the tribal culture, such as dealings with state and federal agencies and outside businesses or organizations. For example, a story might criticize the state for its stance on the Indian fuel tax (Exposer).

III. **TRANSMISSION OF CULTURE**: Communicates information, values and norms from one generation to another, from member to member or from the members of a society to newcomers by (Severin, 1992, p. 296). Culture was defined as the indication of a particular way of life of a people or a group (Williams, 1976, p.7).

- increasing social cohesion—widens base of common experience;
- reducing anomie or sense of estrangement; or
- by continuing socialization—before and after education, aids integration (Severin, 1992, p. 296).

A unit determined as "transmission of culture" was placed in only one of the following categories:
Storytelling: The written accounts of orally-transmitted histories, legends or myths.
Language: Primary purpose of a unit is to teach tribal language or the unit is such that the reader must be a native speaker. For example, cartoon strips or crossword puzzles in tribal language.
Religion: A tribal or clan system of spiritual attitudes, beliefs and practices. References to the Native American church would not be included because it is an inter-tribal religion, such as Baptist in the Christian religion.
Social Structure: Units devoted to traditional societal arrangements (roles, clans); traditional systems of governance; ceremonies; and principles and qualities (values) distinctive to the tribe.
History: Unit focuses on significant figures and events that have effected the tribe or its members.
Food: Explanation of traditional foods, their preparation or ceremonial use.
Health and Medicine: Persons, rituals or medicines by which individuals traditionally maintained health or

treated illness.
Arts and Crafts: Any traditional craft or modern interpretation of that craft, including artistic decorations of functional items.
Functional Artifacts: Objects created for a practical purpose. Examples include explanations or photos of clothing, pottery, weapons for non-ceremonial use.
Life cycle Artifacts: Objects used to hallmark transitions in the life cycle. Examples include war honor tattoos, weapons given to mark the coming of age and ceremonial clothing.

Some categories in the preceding list would not likely appear in article form but rather in a photograph or illustration.

Articles in their entirety and free-standing photographs and illustrations were each considered as a unit in the analysis. Articles were defined to include columns as well as the standard news and feature stories. Photographs and illustrations accompanying stories were considered part of the article unit and were not coded separately. Free-standing photos and illustrations were coded as a unit, because often they are historical in context or featured members in tribal dress, which would be significant in the coding of the culture function. Along with coding for function, the units were measured for length using the standard of column inches. Column inches per page was calculated for each newspaper on the basis of their standard column formatting.

Pretests

Categories used to define cultural content were pretested separately from the other three functions, mainly because of the number of categories and the possibility of overlapping definitions. The researcher used the tribal newspapers of the nations of Osage, Choctaw and Oklahoma Band Pottawatomi to pretest the culture categories. The categories were altered according to the results of the pretest and found to be mutually exclusive, exhaustive and reliable. The modified categories were used in this study.

Pretests for the functions of Surveillance, Correlation and Entertainment involved issues of the three newspapers used in this study; however, sample issues were not used for the pretests. The researcher chose three issues each of the Cherokee, Sac and Fox and Creek papers to conduct a coding analysis. The subcategories of Surveillance and Correlation were developed in this pretest.

The pretesting for the Surveillance and Correlation functions did alter some original assumptions of the researcher, who originally had considered surveillance as a narrow function. However, the function as defined by Lasswell (1992) and applied in the coding pretest represented a broad spectrum of news, too general to provide insight of the function in the tribal press setting. Breaking Surveillance down into the three sub-categories aided in determining whether its performance was essential or non-essential, a beneficial result in terms of the goal of this study.

The breakdown of surveillance allowed the researcher to show the difference between articles such as a

teenager winning a track meet and an expansion in services for the food commodities program. The expansion story would be essential to many tribal members already receiving commodities and those in need of the service. The coding does not make a judgment in the importance of the subcategories, but rather makes clear the type of surveillance performed.

Correlation did not need the same type of defining as the surveillance function. It did, however, need categories that would distinguish between self-criticism or self-praise and the criticism or praise of other peoples or entities. If correlation were to appear as a significant function in the newspapers, then was its function internally directed or tuned to the outside society? Was it portraying the government/tribe in a positive way or was it self-critical? Was it making judgments about mainstream society? And were those judgments positive or negative? Creating the sub-categories of Booster and Exposer, along with internal and external, resolved those questions in a second pretest.

The pretesting stage also established the exclusivity between correlation and surveillance, the two functions with the highest risk of overlapping. The pretest showed that although the two functions might overlap in terms of content, correlation's distinction as a function of "interpretation" set it apart from surveillance. For instance, an article highlighting Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) budget cuts by the U.S. Congress could either be coded as surveillance or correlation. How the story was written made the difference. If the story stated that the tribal education department would downsize its summer youth program because of BIA budget cuts, then the story was surveillance. However, if the story also included value judgments such as the repercussions of the downsizing on tribal youth already disadvantaged by an inequitable federal government, then that story functioned as correlation (exposer), external. This was because the article was no longer serving a purely informational role nor was it providing a warning of reduced funding.

From the pretesting, the researcher developed instructions for content analysis and a coding system. The researcher trained each coder using the instructions and coding sheet for the analysis of non-sample issues of tribal newspapers. First, the researcher and coder jointly analyzed content of an issue; then, the coder and researcher separately analyzed a second issue and compared coding. The comparison resulted in a fine-tuning of the instructions. Analysis of the actual sample was conducted by two coders per newspaper with the researcher as the control for reliability. Comparisons of coding between coder and researcher showed 90 percent agreement as the lowest percentage of agreement and 100 percent agreement as the highest. Disagreements were reconciled via discussion, and the results provided the final coding.

RESULTS

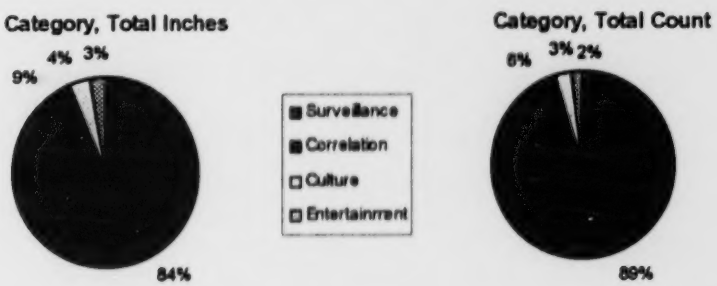
— Overview

The functions—Surveillance, Correlation, Culture and Entertainment—are presented as percentages of either counts of each unit or number of column inches. Count refers to the number of units scored for a particular function. The unit refers to the unit of analysis, which is either an article or photograph. For instance, in the Cherokee issues, 514 units were scored under surveillance. The results are also tabulated in column inches. Those 514 units in the *Advocate* represent 6,647 column inches.

Advertising space and some editorial space were not included. Of the total column inches available, 72 percent was analyzed in the Sac and Fox paper, 70 percent of the Creek, and 53 percent of the Cherokee.

The units and inches of a particular function were further divided into their sub-categories (classifications of function), meaning that the results also show how those 514 units and 6,647 inches were divided among the ten sub-categories of surveillance.

Figure 1 — Overall Appearance of the Four Functions



Overall, the function of surveillance dominated in count and column inches. The culture and entertainment functions were rarely performed in any of the newspapers. In fact, combined, culture and entertainment counted for less than 10 percent of total category measurement in count and inches. Correlation was double the combined appearance of culture and entertainment. Eighty-four percent of the units scored across the three newspapers fell into the general category of surveillance. In column inches, the percentage of surveillance was slightly higher at 89 percent **(Figure 1)**.

Narrowing the analysis to the classifications that further define the functions, surveillance

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

remained dominant. Focusing on the individual classifications of the functions changed the picture slightly. Correlation made it into the top five, significantly edging out the "warning" classifications of surveillance **(Figure 2)**. The warning component of surveillance was not common. The internal warning classification was not among the ten most common functions, and external warning accounted for less than one percent of the overall unit count and slightly over one percent in column inches. Correlation as internal booster accounted for only 4 percent of the total classification in count and 6 percent in inches. Correlation still showed up as one of the top five functions, even when broken down into the classifications. Surveillance Exposure Internal accounted for 44 percent of the overall units counted. Surveillance Instrumental Internal was only half as common as Surveillance Exposure Internal. Surveillance Instrumental Internal appeared 26 percent of the time for units counted and accounted for 24 percent of the total column inches **(Table 1)**.

— Page One results

Page One results refer to the categorization of units on the front page of each issue. In both count and inches, two classifications of Surveillance, Instrumental Internal and Exposure Internal were most frequent. Surveillance, as a whole, dipped to 80 percent of Page one count and 74 percent of Page One column inches because of an increase in the role of correlation **(Figures 3-4).**

Correlation accounted for 16 percent of units counted and 23 percent of inches on combined Page One results. Within correlation, Correlation Booster Internal appeared most in frequency and space. The Culture classifications and Entertainment appeared the least **(Table 2)**.

The Muscogee Nation News

Surveillance was the most common function in the Creek Nation newspaper **(Figure 5)**. In terms of the percentage of news space, this function was performed more in the *Muscogee* than the other two

Table 1

Overall classification totals				
Classifications	Count	% of total	Inches	% of total
SEI	585	44	7528	41
SII	341	26	5173	28
SEE	150	11	1437	8
SIE	96	7	1136	6
CBI	58	4	1132	6
E	27	2	492	3
CuH	18	1	354	2
SWE	11	.8	244	1
CEI	11	.8	258	1
CuL	9	.7	222	1
CBE	9	.7	160	.9
SWI	4	.3	32	.17
CuS	3	.23	41	.22
CuF	2	.15	10	.05
CuA	2	.15	28	.15
CEE	3	.23	87	.47
CuSS	1	.08	12	.07
CuY	1	.08	13	.07

Table 2

Page One Functions				
	Count	% of count	Inches	% of inches
Surveillance	94	80	1457	74
Correlation	19	16	443	23
Entertainment	2	2	28	1
Culture	2	2	38	2

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TABLE 3

CREEK PAGE ONE		
Classification	Unit count	Inches
Surveillance Instrumental Internal	13	227
Surveillance Exposure External	9	158
Correlation Booster Internal	6	105
Surveillance Instrumental External	3	52
Culture History	1	25
Entertainment	1	15
Culture Social Structure	1	13
Surveillance Exposure External	1	10

Table 4

Creek Classification Totals		
Classification	Unit count	Inches
Surveillance Exposure Internal	166	1894
Surveillance Instrumental Internal	104	1331
Surveillance Instrumental External	32	291
Surveillance Exposure External	20	175
Correlation Booster Internal	15	259
Culture Language	3	49
Entertainment	3	37
Surveillance Warning External	3	34
Correlation Booster External	2	29
Culture History	2	32
Culture Social Structure	2	25
Correlation Exposer External	1	30
Correlation Exposer Internal	1	25
Culture Storytelling	1	13
Culture Functional Artifacts	1	3

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Figure 2: Most common functions by count

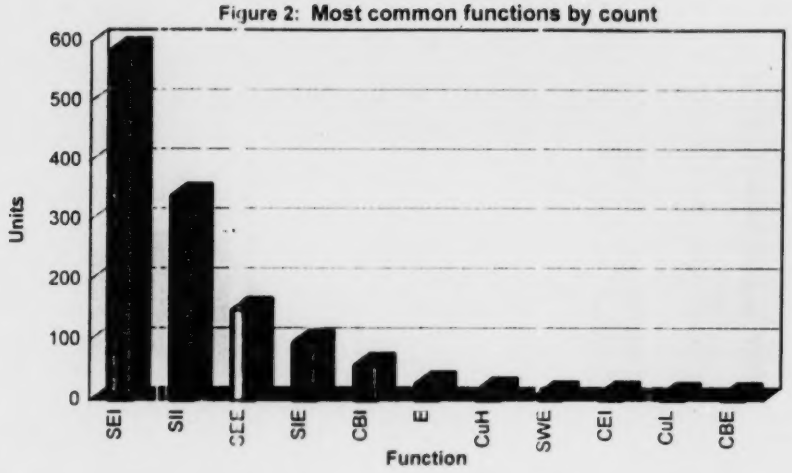


Figure 3: Page one function count

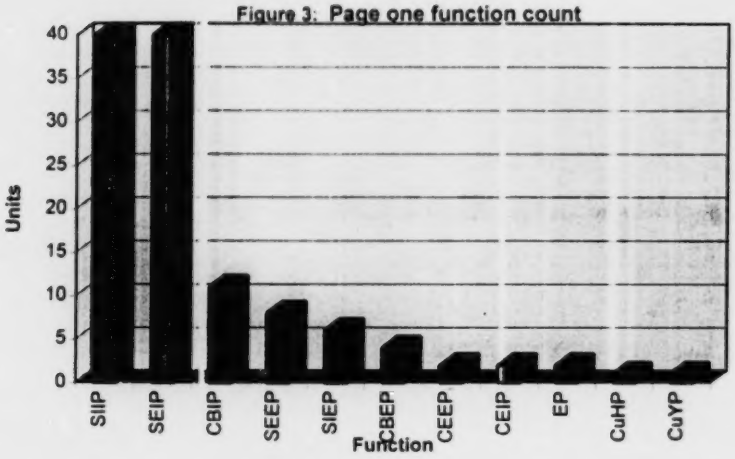
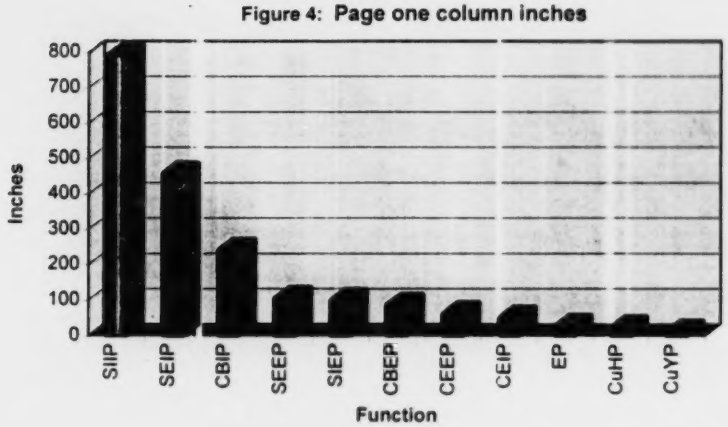


Figure 4: Page one column inches



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Figure 5
Creek Nation newspaper functions

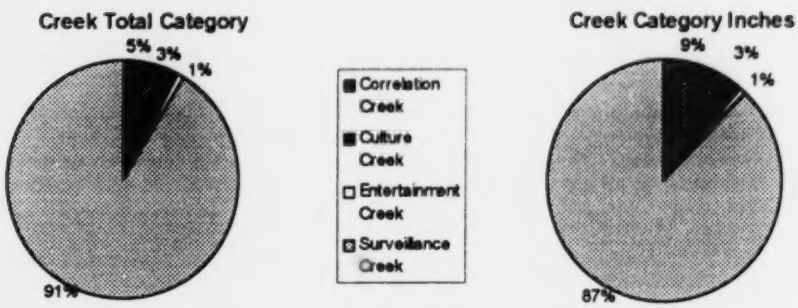


Figure 6
Sac and Fox Nation newspaper functions

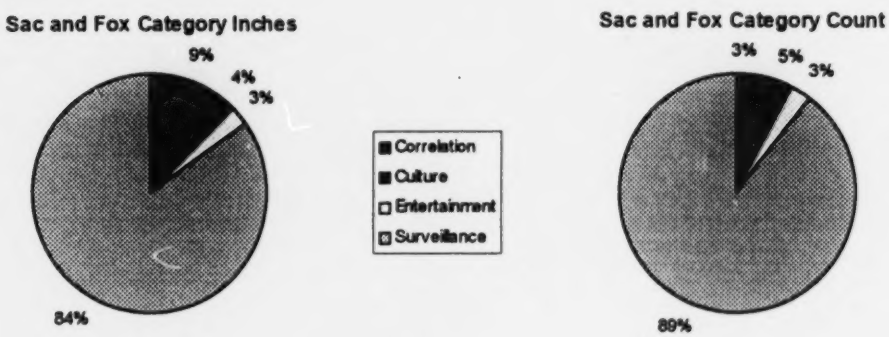
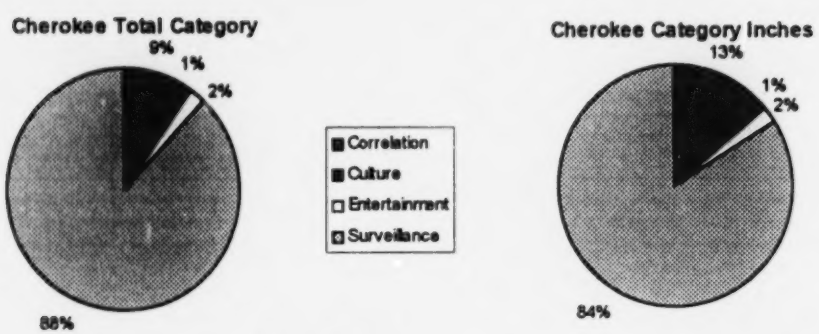


Figure 7
Cherokee Nation newspaper functions



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

tribal newspapers. The difference was, however, only a few percentage points. Overall, in the Creek paper, Surveillance Exposure Internal dominated both the unit count and column inches. But on Page One, the classification of Surveillance Instrumental Internal occurred 13 times compared to one occurrence of Surveillance Exposure External **(Table 3)**. Surveillance occurred 74 percent of the time and occupied 76 percent of the front page news hole.

Front page Surveillance Instrumental Internal units included such articles as "Miss Mvskoke Nation contestants sought for June Pageant" and "Voters approve amendments." In a later issue, a Page One photo of Miss Mvskoke attending an Indian pageant was coded under the exposure (internal) classification of surveillance. Both the "contestants sought" story and the pageant photo were about internal subjects; however, the article provided an informative function in that tribal members were notified about how and when to participate. In addition, the photo provided exposure to a Creek personality. A Miss Mvskoke photo also appeared on Page One of two other issues in the sample.

Instrumental surveillance stories, on Page One of the Creek paper, were mostly internal and tended to be about tribal government elections, grants, or meetings. In two of the sample issues, all front page units were coded as Surveillance Instrumental Internal.

Correlation appearing on Page One fell into the booster internal classification and all units but one ribbon-cutting photograph were articles rather than photographs. A few of the bordered on surveillance and the headlines seemed to indicate news stories. For example:

- "Chief hosts tribal leaders summit," April 1995

This story was written by the chief about an annual meeting. The obvious desired effect was to boost tribal image and pride.

Although Surveillance Instrumental Internal was the dominant classification of the surveillance

function on Page One of *The Muscogee Nation News*, adding the data from inside pages puts Surveillance Exposure Internal in front for both count and column inches. Also, other classifications of surveillance, correlation and culture played significant roles as calculated by inches if not unit count **(Table 4)**.

For instance, Culture Language had three unit counts but occupied nearly 50 column inches. Two units were crossword puzzles and one was a comic strip. All of these were written in the Creek language. The most recent year of the sample, 1995, had no units coded as Culture Language.

—Sac and Fox News

As in the other two newspapers, surveillance neared 90 percent in both column inches and count in the Sac and Fox newspaper. Culture played a larger role in this paper, accounting for 5 percent of count and 7 percent of column inches. This meant that transmission of culture was the second most common function, with entertainment third and correlation fourth **(Figure 6)**. However, the three functions combined represented just more than 10 percent of both count and column inches. Considering the same data in terms of column inches, culture, entertainment and correlation units tended to be 50 percent longer on average than the surveillance units. Only two functions, surveillance and correlation, appeared on the front pages of the Sac and Fox issues. In unit count, surveillance accounted for 93 percent and 90 percent of the column inches. Correlation continued to follow the trend of a lesser count and longer units with a 7 percent count and 10 percent of the column inches **(Table 6)**.

Table 6

Sac and Fox Page One		
Classification	Unit count	Inches
Surveillance Exposure Internal	25	233
Surveillance Instrumental Internal	24	514
Surveillance Exposure External	3	30

Sac and Fox Page One		
Correlation Exposer Internal	2	51
Correlation Booster Internal	1	18
Correlation Booster External	1	15

Surveillance Exposure Internal and Surveillance Instrumental Internal had the majority of count and inches on the front page. But Surveillance Instrumental Internal more than doubled Surveillance Exposure Internal's column inches even though their count differed only by one unit. The Surveillance Exposure on Page One tended to focus on internal events (three external) rather than individuals, for example:

- an employee holiday
- a traditional dance gathering
- a tribal Halloween carnival

Instrumental surveillance was all internal on Page One and mainly reported on Sac and Fox government activities, legislation and economic endeavors. Articles included:

- tribal-supported community initiatives
- the chief's reports on the General Council
- meeting agendas

The lone Correlation Exposer Internal on Page One was an article and photo about a prayer vigil on the Bureau of Indian Affairs budget cuts. The story was an emotional focus on the plight of Indians rather than specific Washington budget cuts. The Correlation Booster External unit praised a city's chamber of commerce for their cooperation with the Sac and Fox Nation. Criticism of tribal officials began the chief's report, but in general, the article focused on funds brought in by the current tribal administration (Correlation Booster Internal).

Overall, in the Sac and Fox sample, Surveillance Instrumental Internal was dominant in count but not inches; Surveillance Exposure Internal, without Page One data, had 35 more units but nearly 200 fewer column inches than Surveillance Instrumental Internal. All classifications of surveillance appeared at least once in the sample **(Table 7)**.

Within culture, the history units tended toward both ends of the spectrum in length. Seven of the 13 units scored for history were three inches or fewer, serving as fillers at the end of other articles. In three units,

the lengths were more than 50 column inches. In the May, 93, issue, the center spread was devoted to two historical pieces, both about family matriarchs.

Only one Culture Language unit was fewer than 20 column inches, and it was the only one that was not a lesson in the Sauk language. Both of the storytelling units were book reviews. The Culture Arts & Crafts was an illustration by a tribal college student.

The internally-critical correlation, Correlation Exposer Internal, included criminal activities of tribal members (one notice of banishment) and an article lamenting tribal divisions. The booster units on inside pages were mostly internal praise for officials or their decisions; however, one unit featured a tribal employee.

Table 7

Sac and Fox classification		
Classification	Unit count	Inches
Surveillance Exposure Internal	164	1939
Surveillance Instrumental Internal	128	2412
Surveillance Exposure External	30	356
Surveillance Instrumental Internal	23	447
Culture History	13	285
Entertainment	11	280
Correlation Exposer Internal	6	148
Correlation Booster Internal	4	103
Culture Language	4	109
Culture Storytelling	2	28
Surveillance Warning External	2	24
Culture Arts & Crafts	1	22
Correlation Booster External	1	15

— ***Cherokee Advocate***

The overall surveillance percentages for the Cherokee paper were near copies of the Sac and Fox. Surveillance was 88 percent of units counted and 84 percent of column inches (**Figure 7**). But *Advocate* surveillance articles did differ somewhat from the other two tribal newspapers in that they often bordered on

correlation. Frequently, Surveillance Instrumental Internal units included "booster-type" quotes from tribal leaders. For example, in the March, 1995, issue a page 9 story on upcoming elections devoted two paragraphs out of nine to the chief who talked about the importance of voter participation in tribal elections.

Correlation was the second most significant function with 9 percent count, 13 percent inches. Combined, culture and entertainment just captured a few percentage points **(Figure 7)**.

More so than the other two papers, the *Advocate* frequently included special sections in an issue. The pull-out sections were either heavy in advertising space or devoted to articles about political candidates. Also, the Advocate used much of their regular editorial space to publish minutes, official expenses, and legislation.

But the main difference between the *Advocate* and the other papers was found in the Page One data. Surveillance lost significant ground on the front page to correlation; and in terms of column inches, correlation exceeded surveillance by four percent **(Table 8)**. But calculating percent using unit count, surveillance topped correlation by 27 percent. Story length accounted for the difference. Correlation units on average are two and a half times longer than surveillance units.

Table 8

Cherokee Page One		
Classification	Unit count	Inches
Surveillance Exposure Internal	6	68
Correlation Booster Internal	5	137
Surveillance Exposure External	4	66
Surveillance Instrumental Internal	3	51
Surveillance Instrumental External	3	48
Correlation Exposer External	2	63
Correlation Booster External	2	54
Entertainment	1	13

On the inside pages, Surveillance Exposure Internal stories, which topped the count and column inches, often featured Cherokee members who were appointed to boards or who garnered awards. Each issue also featured a "Student Corner," Surveillance Exposure Internal. The June, 1993, issue featured a special "Student Corner" that accounted for 648 of the total SEI column inches. The warning division of surveillance played a stronger role in the *Advocate* than the other papers, with external more significant than internal **(Table 9)**. One

Surveillance Warning External story with photo warned of the dangers of cancer-causing radon gas and gave information on an EPA grant for radon test kits.

Table 9

Cherokee classification totals		
Classification	Unit court	Inches
Surveillance Exposure Internal	254	3695
Surveillance Instrumental Internal	109	1430
Surveillance Exposure External	100	906
Correlation Booster Internal	41	796
Surveillance Instrumental External	41	398
Surveillance Warning External	7	190
Entertainment	13	175
Correlation Booster External	5	98
Correlation Exposer External	3	87
Culture Language	2	64
Culture History	3	37
Correlation Exposer Internal	3	34
Surveillance Warning Internal	3	28
Culture Functional Artifact	7	1
Culture Arts & Crafts	6	1

—Comparison of the newspapers

A chi-square test did not show a significant difference in the number of units for each function across the three tribes (X^2=3.13, p=.54). Also, the test did not show any significant difference in the amount of column inches (X^2=3.02, p=.56). For each of the tribes, surveillance was the most common function. Correlation was second, but much less common. There were few Culture and Entertainment units.

A chi-square test was also used to compare the number of surveillance and correlation units across the three tribes for Page One data (tribe (3) x function (surveillance, correlation)). The chi-square test was

significant for both column inches ($x^2(2)=48.12$, $p<.005$) and unit count ($x^2(2)=25.84$, $p<.005$).

For the unit count and column inches, the Sac and Fox use of surveillance was highest, with the Creek intermediate and the Cherokee lowest. For the correlation function, the order was the opposite, with Cherokee highest, Creek intermediate and Sac and Fox lowest **(See Tables 10-11)**.

A chi-square test was also significant for unit count ($x^2=11.55$, $p<.05$) and column inches ($x^2=14.53$, $p<.05$) when three sub-categories of surveillance were considered across the three newspapers: Surveillance Exposure Internal, Surveillance Instrumental Internal, and Surveillance Exposure External **(See Tables 12-13)**.

Table 10

Page One column inches*			
	Sac and Fox	Creek	Cherokee
Surveillance	90	74	47
Correlation	10	18	51

Table 11

Page One unit count*			
	Sac and Fox	Creek	Cherokee
Surveillance	93	74	62
Correlation	7	17	35

Table 12

Classification totals, unit count*			
	Sac Fox	Creek	Cherokee
Surveillance Exposure Internal	42	47	43

Classification totals, unit count*			
Surveillance Instrumental Internal	33	29	18
Surveillance Exposure External	8	6	17

Table 13

Classification totals, column inches*			
	Sac Fox	Creek	Cherokee
Surveillance Exposure Internal	31	45	47
Surveillance Instrumental Internal	39	31	18
Surveillance Exposure External	6	5	11

*Data for the three newspapers represents percentages used in the chi-square test.

DISCUSSION

Results show surveillance to be the dominant function in *The Muscogee Nation News*, *Sac and Fox News* and the *Cherokee Advocate*. Surveillance occurred most frequently and occupied the most space in every issue analyzed in all three newspapers. Breaking the data down into Page One results also indicates surveillance to be the top function. The Page One and overall results mirror each other in count and inches for the sequence of the other three functions: second highest function, correlation; third, transmission of culture; and fourth, entertainment. It should be noted, however, that culture and entertainment were at nearly identical levels.

Although the design of this study produces quantitative results, some valid statements and generalizations can be made about the findings. This discussion finds validity in the experience of the researcher as a tribal press editor, insights gained from the study, five years of input from those in the tribal media, and a lifetime of exposure to tribal politics.

Although the main expectation was that culture would be the most common function, it was not.

The present analysis showed that the common goal of the three newspapers was to keep tribal members informed of issues and activities, a goal that generally translates into news about the tribal government and other members. Newspaper goals are formed at the tribal administration level, usually by the office of the chief or president, and not by an analysis of the uses or needs of the readership. The structure of the newspaper produces an environment in which political concerns supersede cultural ones. For example, in the Cherokee

tribal organization, the *Advocate* is administered by the public affairs department, which, in turn, is administered by the chief. The director of public affairs is also the editor of the paper. The newspaper's mission statement, which includes creating a positive image of the tribe, also reflects the political emphasis.

Another possible explanation for the modest presence of cultural content was story structure and the unit of analysis selected here. Transmission of culture may have played a larger role in the results if the unit of analysis had been a smaller unit, such as the paragraph. Many of the history features had paragraphs that would have fallen under the culture category; however, taken as a whole, the historical articles were not specific to tribal culture. Their "history" was often a profile of an individual recalling the old days, but the reminiscence contained only a few paragraphs that would be considered culturally valuable, such as references to a social structure, to values, or to clan hierarchy.

In general, however, opportunities to write culturally-relevant historical pieces were bypassed for a news slant, thus creating the surveillance function. For example, the *Advocate* covered a history convention (October, 1993) and a Trail of Tears art show (June, 1994) as event-based informative articles or Surveillance Exposure Internal, which was in keeping with the newspaper's purpose. Another Surveillance Exposure Internal article (June, 1994) described the Cherokee Heritage Center. Even though the events and center were covered appropriately, an opportunity was missed to provide culturally-related material as a sidebar (relevant and secondary to the main story) or as a main story with the informative article as the sidebar.

The Surveillance Exposure Internal classification of surveillance dominated the inside pages of the sample issues but not the front pages, where Surveillance Instrumental Internal tied Surveillance Exposure for highest unit count and exceeded its presence in column inches. One of the hypotheses led to the expectation that Surveillance Instrumental Internal would be more frequent that Surveillance Exposure Internal. Within the function of surveillance, it was expected that content would more often fall into a subcategory of internal rather than external surveillance and within the instrumental rather than the exposure subcategory. The rationale for the expectation was that tribal newspapers do not have adequate staffing, training or resources to report extensively on external surveillance issue. Instrumental stories require less resources and often come from press releases.

One possible explanation for the increase in Surveillance Instrumental Internal on Page One again stems from the structure of the papers. Instrumental units tended to focus on tribal government activities, and a function of the public relations department would be to prominently place such information. Also, SEI units could be considered soft news, i.e., museum receptions, youths' accomplishments, award winners; the type of articles easily obtained and written with limited resources in time or personnel. These articles do not require

much news hole and accompanying photos tend to be mug shots (faces). In addition, the information and photos are usually brought in or mailed to the newspaper.

These were the type of Surveillance Exposure Internal stories found in this analysis. The researcher originally considered exposure units to consist of the type of feature stories and photographs that would entail extensive interviewing and planning. Few of this type of SEI were expected. Thus, instrumental units created from tribal government activities and reports were considered as the most expedient and plentiful source of articles.

The data, including Page One, did support one expectation of H_3, in which internal surveillance was predicted to exceed external. Again, the rationale was based on staffing and time restraints.

The correlation function did perform as was hypothesized, but the occurrence of this function was so low that it rarely exceeded 10 percent in unit count or inches. The exceptions appear in the *Cherokee Advocate*, in which correlation is 13 percent of overall column inches and in Page One data, it accounts for 50 percent of column inches.

As hypothesized, correlation appeared most often as an internal booster. This would seem to support the criticisms of the tribal press as being only a propaganda tool for the government, if it were not for the implacable domination of surveillance. The data did not support the statement that a main function of the tribal press is to disperse propaganda. Instead, the results indicated that the main function of newspapers was to inform tribal members about events and persons first and tribal government activities second.

Another deception on the face appearance of functions occurred in the Correlation Exposer Internal classification. Overall, Correlation Exposer Internal ranked ninth in the top 10 classifications, and for overall Page One rankings, it appeared eighth. The purpose of Correlation Exposer Internal would seem to be self-criticism, but that conclusion cannot be made based on the manifest content. For instance, in the April, 1994, issue of the Creek newspaper, a Page 3 unit, "Intent to circulate removal petitions filed by citizen," not only reported on the removal, but also listed all the grievances against the second chief and the attorney general. A rebuttal for the accused was not provided until the story jumped to page 12. There, statements from the second chief and attorney general were included. On the surface (manifest content), the newspaper seemed more than generous in its coverage of allegations against its own administration. An insider's knowledge may have provided a key to whether or not this story was actually openness on the part of the tribal government. Was it actually self-criticism, or did the chief's office take advantage of a political situation. The chief and these other officials may have been at odds with each other. What was dubiously missing was any statement by the chief. Did the chief stand behind these elected members of his administration? If so, then why no supportive

statements about their contributions to the tribe?

Further issues and implications

This study did not attempt to generalize to the tribal press as a whole. Even if the sample were to be enlarged, some type of qualitative research would need to accompany the analysis, such as:

- A descriptive survey of the tribal media and readers.
- In-depth interviews with tribal press staff to aid in determining the role such variables as staff size, budgets, and government involvement played in the function of the newspaper.
- Interviews with tribal officials and elders to provide additional variables other than basic demographic information. Do these variables combine to create the function of the newspaper?
- Some knowledge of the tribe's unique culture. Is there an awareness on the erosion of the culture?

Nevertheless, this study can produce a general area of concern for the tribal press and should cast doubt as to whether claimed or intended functions are realized. Does the perception of the tribal press as being a propaganda tool for the government come from the actual content? What are the perceptions of the tribal government? Do tribal members and leaders perceive that their newspapers function as assistants in communicating issues and needs to the membership?

Tribal governments and Indian journalists obviously view the tribal newspaper as somewhat of an advocacy press system. If that were so, correlation would appear frequently as a function. In this study, it did not. If the criticism of propaganda were true, correlation would also appear as a significant function. But what does appear are the results of censorship, and in the performance of such, tribal officials prevent not only negative news from being published, but also sanitize content to the point of nearly excluding the correlation function.

Critics argue that the illegitimacy of the tribal newspapers results because of censorship and propaganda. Tribal governments rarely present an argument or take action to the contrary. Even though this study cannot address those perceptions in general, it should cast a seed of doubt as to whether the tribal press meets their common perception.

REFERENCES

Champagne, Duane (Ed.). (1994). Chronology of native North American history: from pre-Columbian times to the present. Detroit: Gale Research.

Fitzgerald, Mark. (1994, September 10). How free is the native American press. Editor & Publisher, 127, 13.

Lasswell, H.D. (1960). The structure and function of communication in society. In W. Schramm (Ed.), *Mass communications* (pp. 117-130). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Lerner, Daniel (1960). Communication systems and social systems. In W. Schramm (Ed.), *Mass communications* (pp. 131-140). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Luebke, Barbara (1982). Elias Boudinot, Cherokee editor, the father of American Indian journalism. In *Native American Press in Wisconsin and the Nation*. (p. 124). Madison: University of Wisconsin Library School.

Murphy, Sharon (1977). Neglected pioneers: 19th Century Native American newspapers. In *Journalism History*. 4. No.3. (p. 79).

Schramm, W. (Ed.) (1960). Mass communications. Second edition. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Severin, Werner J., James W. Tankard, Jr., (1992). Communication theories: Origins, methods, and uses in the mass media. White Plains, N.Y.: Longman Publishing Group.

Shoemaker, Pamela (1992). Hard wired for news? Using Sociobiology theory to explain the content of the news. Manuscript.

Siebert, F.S., T.B. Peterson, and W. Schramm (1956). Four theories of the press. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Stein, M.L. (1992, May 16). Indian newspapers and tribal censorship. Editor & Publisher, 125, 14.

Stein, M.L. (1994, February 19). Shut down; tribal council closes Hopi newspaper serving 10,000 people on an Arizona reservation. Editor & Publisher, 11.

Weiner, Richard (1990). Dictionary of Media and Communications. New York: Webster's New World.

Williams, Raymond (1976). Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society. London: Fontana.

Wright, C.R. (1986). Mass communication: a sociological perspective. Third Edition. New York: Random House.

NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF IMMIGRATION IN 1996 AND READER ETHNICITY

by Yu-li Chang

E.W. Scripps School of Journalism
Ohio University

122 Carriage Hill
Athens, OH 45701

Tel: 614-5921666
Fax: 614-5921666
E-mail: yc322487@oak.cats.ohiou.edu

A paper submitted to
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication
Chicago, 1997

NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF IMMIGRATION IN 1996 AND READER ETHNICITY

Introduction

The immigration issue returned to the U.S. media scene in 1996 because it was a year of presidential election. The immigration issue has been and remains one of the most important on the agenda of U.S. elections. Ever since 1848 when immigration issue was first included in a political platform, it has become an issue widely debated among political parties and has appeared in at least one major party's platform in almost every presidential campaign (Simon, 1985). A brief review of some important legislation about immigration demonstrates how the U. S. government has been handling this issue and what public opinion has been. Overall, the period from 1880 to the present has been regarded as the restrictionist era in U.S. immigration policy, but with different degrees of restrictions. The passage of 1882's Chinese Exclusion Act marked the first time in U. S. history that a group of people were excluded because of their ethnicity. The Johnson Act of 1921 introduced the system of national quotas on immigrant numbers. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 limited immigration from the Eastern hemisphere. It was not until 1965 that the government eliminated national origins as a basis for selection of immigrants (Simon, 1985). The 1965 Immigration Act brought on the influx of Asian immigrants from China, Taiwan, Korea, and the Philippines. In the 1970s and 80s, several laws were enacted to cope with refugee resettlement in the United States. A large number of refugees arrived from Eastern Europe, Central and South America, and again Asia (Simon & Alexander, 1993).

Even though the past century of immigration policy has been termed as "restrictionist," the public's attitudes towards immigration have undergone minor changes from anti-immigration, to more liberalized attitude after World War II and back to restrictionist viewpoint from the 70s. The recent wave towards restrictionism, according

to some scholars, is due to increased economic insecurity among Americans and the public's worry about aliens maintaining their individual cultures, thus, causing social problems in mainstream society (Harwood, 1986).

Immigration policy has been an issue of public concern and this issue has been tied up closely with politics, especially in election years. The year 1848 marked the first time the immigration issue appeared in a political platform. Negative orientations towards immigration continued over the first half of the 20th century. The attitudes began to change in the 1960s when both major parties included pro-immigration planks in their platform (Simon, 1985). The pro-immigration position among the major parties again changed over the past two decades. In the 80s, the two parties, while adhering to the principle of accepting refugees and recognizing immigrants' contributions to American society, changed their rhetoric by pointing out that refugee problem was global which required the cooperation of all democratic nations and by insisting that the United States had the absolute right to control its borders (Simon & Alexander, 1993).

The immigration issue was pushed to the forefront of campaign agenda during the 1996 presidential election after California's governor Wilson proposed welfare reform to cut benefits to immigrants. His action was welcomed by many Americans, but at the same time, it aroused serious concerns and even protests among immigrant minorities. The Republican Party adopted Wilson's stand in its campaign, while the Democratic Party sided with immigrants. The immigration issue in 1996, like previous election years, became a partisan issue. How did media cover the debates over immigration in 1996 was what this study investigated.

Literature Review

In analyzing the formation of public opinion, Lippmann (1922) pointed out the enduring concept of pseudo-environment. He assumed that people's reactions to the environment were based not on direct and certain knowledge, but on pictures made by themselves or given to themselves. Mass media in modern society functioned as

important sources of pictures in people's heads. Similarly, Lasswell (1960) argued there were three functions of mass media, namely, surveillance of the environment, correlation of parts of society in responding to the environment and the transmission of social heritage. The surveillance and correlation functions referred to media's role of providing and interpreting news and information; thus, media shaped people's understanding of world events.

For journalists and media institutions, the function of media to provide and interpret news raises questions of responsibility. Media must be socially responsible, according to the Hutchins Commission, which laid the ground for social responsibility theory (Commission on the Freedom of the Press, 1947). The Hutchins Commission developed five standards for a free and responsible press. Two of the standards involved the concepts of diversity of ideas and fair treatment of societal groups, especially minority groups. The commission called for media to provide a truthful, comprehensive account of the day's events and offer a representative picture of the constituent groups of society (Commission on the Freedom of the Press, 1947).

About twenty years later, in response to civil rights movements in the 60s, the Kerner Commission was established to examine how the media covered race relations (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968). This Commission found that the media failed to offer a representative picture of minorities and it recommended that the media include more minority perspectives in its news coverage and that coverage of minority communities needed to be expanded (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968).

Over the years, researchers have looked into the media's coverage of minority groups, with major focus on black Americans. Most of the results indicated that U.S. mainstream media tended to portray minority groups in a stereotypical way. Analyzing newspapers' coverage of African Americans, Martindale (1990) found that, despite the increased coverage of African Americans after the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s, they were

still highly stereotyped. Martindale (1995) also did a content analysis on the *New York Times'* portrayal of America's largest minority groups over the past five decades. She concluded that even though the amount of coverage on Latinos rose sharply in the 1990s, they were most often portrayed as criminals. Asian Americans came out to be treated worst by the *New York Times* in both the small amount of coverage and the lack of complexity of that coverage. They, too, appeared in crime stories most of the time.

The book, *Ethnic Images in American Film and Television,* had an extensive review on how minorities were portrayed in U.S. film and television. Miller (1978) found strong, negative psychological implications of Asian stereotypes and their relation to Asian Americans' experience in the United States. Also examining media coverage of Asian Americans, Wang (1994) thought that American journalism had made substantial improvements from the days of anti-Asian influence in the 1870s when Chinese laborers were condemned in newspapers to the present when increasingly nuanced, textured, and true to life coverage of Asian Americans could be found in print media. He, however, stressed that progress had not eliminated some problems reoccurring in media coverage of Asian Americans, that is, use of stereotypes and lack of knowledge about these people. Jeffres and Hur (1979) studied media images of white ethnic groups in the United States and concluded that readers felt that metropolitan media failed to cover their interests for the larger community in which they lived and that the image of these white ethnic minority groups was negative.

In looking at media's portrayal of different minority groups, Dates and Pease (1994) pointed out certain stereotypes reinforced by the media: " Puerto Ricans are oily and drive Chevies with loud stereos. Black women are single mothers on welfare; black men are violent. Asians (any variety) are inscrutable (and good at math). Mexicans are in this country illegally and have large families to support." (p. 92) Simon and Alexander (1993) looked at the coverage of various magazines and the *New York Times* on immigration and immigrants for a long period of time and concluded that immigrants seemed always to be

coming from the wrong countries: when a large number of immigrants was coming from Eastern and Southern Europe, the magazines bemoaned the loss of hard-working Western Europeans; when the migration pattern changed from Europe to Latin America, Europeans were remembered as good immigrants; when Asia became the major export of immigrants, the media called for stopping immigration of people from different backgrounds. Asians were regarded as not being able to assimilate into American culture.

Along a similar line of analysis, but with a stronger criticism, Miller (1994) stated that the most common stereotype found in media coverage of immigrants was that immigration policy was not on the right track or out of control. He argued that Americans' real worry about immigration was the fear of 'browning' of America, since the new immigrants were masses from Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean, instead of from Europe.

Overall, American mainstream media have not fulfilled the responsibility of providing fair and representative pictures of minorities, including immigrants. The Hutchins Commission's call for media to offer diversity of ideas has been mostly ignored by the media in terms of their coverage of minorities.

In terms of dealing with diversity of ideas in the media, there were different ways to evaluate diversity in the news. Some researchers tackled with this question from a structural analysis by looking at differences in the size and types of news stories (Hanson, 1991); some focused on diversity of sources (Brown, Bybee, Wearden, & Straughan 1987); some defined the term as a framing process by looking at ideological diversity (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987); and some concentrated on content diversity, that is, different viewpoints about a given topic (Griswold, 1991). In building a conceptual and methodological framework of diversity in the news, Voakes, et al. (1996) compared newspaper's coverage of debates over raising the legal drinking age in Wisconsin by looking at source diversity and content diversity. They found that the common assumption that source diversity brought about content diversity was flawed. They

concluded that it was the content of the news that best measured the concept of diversity. The present study on media's coverage of immigration issue has looked at media's performance in presenting diversity of ideas through content diversity.

News content, according to Shoemaker et al. (1996), was determined by several factors. One of the factors assumed that content resulted from social and institutional forces working on it. These forces were external to the journalist, such as economic forces, culture and the audience. Most studies concerning audience's influence on media content looked at audience as potential consumers with buying power, thus, the audience demographics very much determined what advertisers would come to the papers for advertising (Shoemaker et al., 1996). Numerous studies have demonstrated that newspaper editors showed a strong orientation to readers. These managing editors could be identified as reader-oriented business people (Bridges, 1991; Underwood and Stamm, 1992).

While most studies about audience have concentrated on its market orientation, few studies have looked at audience as ethnic groups with individual identities and how these components of audience may have affected news content. Lacy (1993) pointed out that social and technological changes during the past three decades have changed newspaper markets forever and that newspapers' survival depended on how well they understood the market. He said that the backgrounds, lifestyles and living patterns of people influenced their information needs. As the population became more diverse, the diversity of information needs would increase. What he suggested was looking at readers more than just as an aggregate of consumers, but as individuals with different backgrounds and lifestyles.

A recent study by Maurer (1994) explored this inquiry of audience as ethnic groups by looking at European readership and newspaper content. She found that papers published in cities with high German immigrant population showed a higher interest in Germany, which was reflected by a variety of stories about Germany other than political

news. A dissertation on Asian Americans and the mass media also looked into percent of Asian Americans in a city vs. coverage of Asian Americans. The author found a strong correlation between the number of Asian Americans in a city and the amount of coverage about Asian Americans by a paper covering that city (Mansfield-Richardson, 1996). The present study about the immigration issue in the 1996 presidential campaign also dealt with readers as ethnic minorities and investigated how these different ethnic components of the readership have influenced news content.

Purpose of the Study

A content analysis was conducted to examine how media, newspapers in this study, covered this controversial issue of immigration policy in 1996. Nine newspapers, three each from metropolitan areas of large, medium, and small immigrant populations and with large, medium, and small circulations were chosen for this study. Newspapers were also selected from different geographical areas within each group to get better representations of coverage.

By comparing coverage from these nine newspapers, the researcher aimed to find out if there were different treatments of immigration issue in terms of volume of coverage, topics of concern, ethnicity of immigrants and attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. In other words, this study was designed to test if diverse ethnic components of readers had any effect on news coverage.

The hypotheses for this content analysis were:

H1. Newspapers published in cities with large immigrant populations and having large circulations, contained more coverage on immigration issue than papers published in cities with medium number of immigrants and having medium circulations; and papers in cities with few immigrants and having small circulations had the least coverage.

H2. Newspapers published in cities with many immigrants and having large circulations, ran more topical issues concerning immigration policy than papers in cities with medium number of immigrants and having medium circulations; and papers in

cities with small immigrant populations and having small circulations, had the least variety of topics concerning immigration debate.

H3. Newspapers published in cities with large immigrant populations and of large circulation had more balanced attitude towards immigration than papers with medium or small number of immigrant readership and of medium or small circulation.

H4. Newspaper coverage of immigrants was mainly focused on Asians and Hispanics, while white immigrants who also constituted a large portion of immigrant population were barely mentioned in the news coverage.

Method

The researcher conducted a content analysis of nine newspapers' coverage of the immigration issue from January 1 to November 5, that is, from the beginning of the New Hampshire primary, in which the immigration issue was brought up, to the election day. Nine newspapers were chosen to yield varying percentages of immigrant populations in the cities of publication and to allow geographical representation from various parts of the United States. To look for data on the percentage of immigrants in U.S. cities, the researcher referred to *Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service* (Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1994) in which numbers of immigrants admitted by area of intended residence in 1993 were given, and to *1996 County and City Extra: Annual Metro City and County Data Book* (Slater and Hall, 1996) in which numbers of whole population in 75 largest metropolitan areas were obtained.

The *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times* and *Chicago Tribune* were chosen to represent papers published in cities with large immigrant populations and having large circulations. The *Baltimore Sun*, the *Denver Post* and the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* represented papers published in cities with medium immigrant populations and having medium circulations. For the papers published in cities with fewer immigrants and with smaller circulations, the *Omaha World-Herald*, *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* and *Arkansas Democrat Gazette* were selected (See Table 1).

TABLE I

Paper	Percentage of Immigrants (immigrants admitted in 1993 / total population)	Circulation
NYT	0.015	1,157,656
LAT	0.012	1,021,121
CT	0.006	667,908
BS	0.002	486,403
DP	0.003	316,027
CPD	0.002	398,398
OWH	not listed as city for immigrants'	222,281
MJS	intended residence	287,270
ADG	"	179,609

*source for circulation figure: SRDS Newspaper Advertising Source (November, 1996)

The sample universe for this study included all articles about immigration policy from these nine newspapers. Since Lexus-Nexus includes all these papers, to be consistent in selection of news articles, the researcher accessed all articles from this database using the search combinations of *immigration w/seg policy and date aft 1/1/96 and date bef 11/5/96.* All articles obtained from Lexus-Nexus were reviewed to remove stories of an editorial nature, e.g. editorials, commentaries, columns, letters and opinions; stories appearing in special magazine issues; news summaries; and foreign news items on immigration that were unrelated to U.S. immigration issue. A random sample was constructed by selecting one third of all news articles dealing with U.S. immigration policy. This resulted in a sample size of 199 articles.

Every news article was coded according to its focus, either as immigration issue or non-immigration issue. Every paragraph of a news article was then coded according to its theme dealing with immigration/immigrants, attitude towards immigration or immigrants;

and ethnic group of immigrants. The themes of paragraphs dealing with immigration/immigrants included:

1. Welfare/Education/Housing: paragraph dealing with immigrants' using social services by occupying hospital emergency rooms, causing housing problems and wasting resources in education, welfare programs, etc.

2. Economy/Employment: paragraph dealing with immigrants' contributions to national economy, either by paying taxes or taking up jobs most Americans were not willing to do, or competing in the job market causing loss of jobs among non-immigrants, and paragraph dealing with employment procedures for immigrants and U.S. companies.

3. Identity/Culture/Language: paragraph dealing with immigrants' stories of settling down in America, seeking asylum, fighting for recognition, the process of becoming a U.S. citizen, the issue of citizenship, their contributions in bringing cultural diversity into the American society, their movements to include their mother tongues as official languages, or immigrants' failure to adopt to American culture and being looked at as aliens.

4. Border Control: paragraph dealing with government's proposals or measures to tighten control over the borders to stop illegal immigrants.

5. Civil Rights: paragraph dealing with immigrants' efforts to fight for their rights; to express themselves in rallies and voting booths, that is, paragraph about immigrants' voting behaviors.

6. Crime: paragraph dealing with immigrants' activities involving crime, or their treatment as criminals by legal systems or by non-immigrants.

7. In General: paragraph dealing with general discussion of immigration issue without going into specific details or paragraph dealing with more than two of the above-mentioned categories.

8. Other: paragraph dealing with other aspects of immigrants or immigration policy that are not covered by the above-mentioned seven categories.

9. Paragraph of Non-Immigration Issue: self-explanatory, special attention to paragraphs talking about immigration/immigrants in other countries which was regarded as a non-immigration issue, since this study only looked at the immigration issue in the United States.

In terms of paragraphs showing attitude towards immigration and immigrants, the following categories were coded as:

1. Favorable: paragraph dealing with laws or opinions favoring immigration, showing sympathy toward immigrants, or demonstrating positive aspects of immigrants/immigration.
2. Unfavorable: paragraph dealing with laws or opinions of anti-immigration, showing scorn toward immigrants, or demonstrating negative aspects of immigrants/immigration.
3. Neutral: paragraph involving no obvious evaluation of immigrants or immigration; paragraph that was difficult to determine whether being favorable or unfavorable; or paragraph stating both positive and negative aspects of immigrants/immigration.
4. Paragraph of non-immigration issue: self-explanatory.

All paragraphs were also coded according to whether they mentioned or related to ethnicity of immigrants, the categories were divided into: Canada, Mexico/Central/South America/Caribbean, Western Europe, Eastern Europe/former USSR, Asia, Oceania, Africa (Sub-Sahara), Middle East/North Africa, and in general and paragraphs of non-immigration issue. These categories were self-explanatory. The "in general" category referred to paragraphs talking about all immigrants, without specific focus on any ethnic group, or paragraphs relating to more than one ethnic group. Again, there was the category for "paragraph of non-immigration issue."

To test the coding instrument, two coders, the author and a journalist, coded 20 articles randomly selected from the sample size of 199. The intercoder reliability, established on the basis of percentage of agreement (Stempel and Westley, 1989), ranged from 81% for attitude towards immigration/immigrants to 100% for lengths in paragraphs.

paragraphs dealing with certain themes of immigration/immigrants and paragraphs mentioning or relating to certain ethnic groups of immigrants. The overall intercoder reliability was 94 percent. Level of significance for this study was set at .05.

Findings

This study found that Hispanics and Asians were the focus immigrant groups covered by these nine metropolitan newspapers, and most of their coverage presented immigrants and immigration in a negative light. This study also found that papers published in cities with large immigrant populations and having large circulations contained more coverage and diversity of topics on immigration issue, than papers in cities of medium and small populations of immigrants and having medium and small circulations. There was, however, no difference in terms of the amount and diversity of coverage between papers in cities of medium immigrant populations and papers in cities of small immigrant populations. Overall, hypothesis 4 was supported, and hypotheses 1, 2, and 3 were partially supported.

In all the paragraphs that mentioned or were related to immigrants, about half of them referred to immigrants in general. For those paragraphs mentioning specific ethnic groups, immigrants of Hispanic heritage from Mexico, Central and South America, and the Caribbean generated the most coverage (32.16%), followed by Asians (11.99%). Immigrants from Eastern Europe and former USSR had some coverage (3.63%), and Africans were also mentioned infrequently (1.1%). There were only three paragraphs (0.13%) relating to immigrants from Western Europe. Immigrants from Canada, Oceania, and Middle East/North Africa were not covered at all (see Table 2).

Comparing these findings to percent of immigrants admitted by region during recent years (see Table 3), it was easy to realize why Hispanics and Asians generated the most coverage. But the fact that Europeans also had a strong presence in U. S. immigration figures was not reflected in the coverage coded.

TABLE 2: Frequencies of Paragraphs Mentioning Origins of Immigrants

Region	N	(%)
General	1109	(50.96)
Mexico/C/S America/Caribbean	700	(32.16)
Asia	261	(11.99)
Eastern Europe/former USSR	79	(3.63)
Sub-Sahara	24	(1.10)
Western Europe	3	(0.13)
Canada	0	(0.00)
Oceania	0	(0.00)
Middle East/North Africa	0	(0.00)

The findings on paragraphs mentioning ethnic groups of immigrants supported hypothesis 4 which stated that newspapers' coverage of immigrants were mainly about Asians and Hispanics, while white immigrants who also constituted a large portion of immigrant population were barely mentioned.

TABLE 3: Percent of Immigrants Admitted by Region and Period

Region	1991	1992	1993
Europe	7.4	14.9	17.5
Asia	19.6	36.6	39.6
North America	66.3	39.4	33.3
South America	4.4	5.7	6.0
Africa	2.0	2.8	3.1
Oceania	0.3	0.5	0.5

* source: *Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1993*

Newspapers' attitudes towards immigration and immigrants were also a major focus in this study. Overall, these nine newspapers ran more paragraphs (38.55%) which

indicated unfavorable attitude towards immigration and immigrants than paragraphs dealing with neutral (33.18%) or especially favorable (28.26%) attitudes (see Table 4). Similar to results in previous studies, this study also found that immigrants were still portrayed in a negative light.

The differences of attitudes among the individual papers were large (see Table 4). The *Los Angles Times*, which had the largest number of paragraphs indicating attitudes towards immigrants and immigration, was balanced in its treatment of immigration issue, with favorable category reaching 33.71 percent, unfavorable category reaching 34.04 percent, and neutral category reaching 32.26 percent. The unfavorable coverage (47.05%) on immigration and immigrants in the *New York Times* was more than twice its favorable coverage (22.3%). The *Chicago Tribune* also ran more unfavorable paragraphs (39.03%) than favorable paragraphs (21.93%), and the difference between these two categories was large (17.1%).

The *Baltimore Sun*, like the *Los Angles Times*, was balanced in its coverage of immigration issue where favorable and unfavorable coverage reached equal amounts. The *Denver Post* held a strong negative attitude towards immigrants and immigration. Its unfavorable paragraphs reached 67.30 percent, while favorable and neutral paragraphs only accounted for 13.46 and 19.23 percent respectively. The *Cleveland Plain Dealer* was the only paper in this study demonstrating a favorable attitude towards immigrants and immigration. Its favorable paragraphs reached 37.38 percent; unfavorable paragraphs, 27.1 percent; and neutral paragraphs, 35.51 percent.

Among the nine newspapers under study, the *Omaha World Herald* held the strongest negative attitude towards immigrants and immigration (68.08%). Its favorable coverage accounted for only 8.51 percent, the lowest compared to other papers. *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* and *Arkansas Democrat Gazette* were also obvious in their unfavorable attitudes towards immigrants and immigration with unfavorable coverage twice as frequent as favorable coverage.

Judging from these results, it was difficult to conclude that newspapers published in cities with large immigrant populations would run more favorable reports about immigrants and immigration than papers published in cities with medium immigrant populations. In the large circulation group, the *New York Times* and *Chicago Tribune* skewed towards unfavorable reports, while the *Los Angeles Times* was balanced. As to papers in cities with medium populations of immigrants and having medium circulations, their attitudes varied greatly. This group contained a paper that was very unfavorable towards immigrants and immigration, as well as the only paper that had more favorable coverage about immigrants.

It was true, however, that papers published in cities with few immigrants tended to hold the strongest negative attitude towards immigrants and immigration. All three papers in this small circulation group were heavily skewed towards unfavorable coverage (see Table 4). The researcher thus concluded that hypothesis 3 was partially supported. While there was not sufficient evidence to support the statement that large-circulation newspapers would have more balanced attitude towards immigration and immigrants, it was true that papers covering cities with a small number of immigrants, and of small circulation tended to be most unbalanced in their coverage.

Among all the paragraphs that dealt with the immigration issue, 528 (24.26%) talked about immigration in general. Of the remaining paragraphs that discussed specific aspects of the immigration issue, welfare/education/housing stood out to be the largest category with 419 (19.25%) paragraphs, followed by identity, 338 (15.53%), and civil rights, 336 (15.44%). Border control, 244 (11.21%) and economy/employment, 209 (9.6%) also generated significant coverage (see Table 5).

To further break down all paragraphs that dealt with aspects of immigration or immigrants by individual newspapers, the *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times* and

Chicago Tribune led in terms of amount of coverage on issues concerning immigration and immigrants. They also covered every topical category of immigrants and immigration.

TABLE 4: Paragraphs Indicating Attitudes towards Immigrants and Immigration by Individual Papers and Circulation Groups

Paper	Favorable N (%)	Unfavorable N (%)	Neutral N (%)
Large Circulation[a]	546 (29.02)	711 (37.79)	624 (33.17)
LAT[b]	378 (33.71)	382 (34.04)	362 (32.26)
NYT[b]	91 (22.30)	192 (47.05)	125 (30.63)
CT[b]	77 (21.93)	137 (39.03)	137 (39.03)
Medium Circulation[a]	53 (29.12)	70 (38.46)	59 (32.41)
BS[b]	6 (26.08)	6 (26.08)	11 (47.82)
DP[b]	7 (13.46)	35 (67.30)	10 (19.23)
CPD[b]	40 (37.38)	29 (27.10)	38 (35.51)
Small Circulation[a]	16 (14.15)	58 (51.32)	39 (34.51)
OWH[b]	4 (8.51)	32 (68.08)	11 (23.40)
MJS[b]	8 (19.51)	16 (39.02)	17 (41.46)
ADG[b]	4 (16.00)	10 (40.00)	11 (44.00)
Total	615 (28.26)	839 (38.55)	722 (33.18)

[a] $X^2 = 13.54$ df = 4 $p < .01$, refers to the crosstab between circulation groups and paragraphs indicating attitudes towards immigrants and immigration.
[b] $X^2 = 90.50$ df = 16 $p < .001$, refers to the crosstab between individual papers and paragraphs indicating attitudes towards immigrants and immigration.

Among the rest of the newspapers, the amount of coverage on topical themes was sparse. These papers had little diversity in their coverage on aspects of immigration issues. The *Baltimore Sun* didn't talk about welfare, economy, and crime; the *Denver Post* did not have any coverage on border control; the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* did not deal with economy, border control and crime; the *Omaha World Herald* did not think identity, border control and civil right of immigrants and immigration were important; *Milwaukee*

Journal Sentinel did not cover border control and civil rights of immigrants; and the *Arkansas Democrat Gazette* failed to report on economy and identity aspects of immigration and immigrants.

To test hypothesis 2, which focused on diversity of topical issues of immigration and immigrants by newspapers published in cities of large, medium and small immigrant populations which also corresponded to circulation sizes of newspapers, this study found the results described in the following table (see Table 5).

TABLE 5: Paragraphs Dealing with Topical Themes of Immigration Issue by Circulation Groups

Circulation	Welfare N (%)	Identity N (%)	Civilrt N (%)	Border N (%)	Economy N (%)	Crime N (%)
Large	403 (27.58)	314 (21.49)	251 (17.18)	241 (16.50)	178 (12.18)	74 (5.06)
Medium	8 (7.7)	16 (16.53)	76 (73.78)	1 (0.9)	1 (0.9)	1 (0.9)
Small	8 (11.76)	8 (11.76)	9 (13.23)	2 (2.94)	30 (44.11)	11 (16.17)
Total	419	338	336	244	209	86

$X^2 = 281.268$ df = 10 $p < .001$

Papers in the first group of large circulation and from cities of large immigrant populations had the highest number of paragraphs and covered all categories of topical issues concerning immigrants and immigration. Among these categories, all of them received significant amount of coverage except for the crime category. The large-circulation papers were most concerned about welfare/education/housing (27.58%). The identity issue (21.49%) was also widely covered, followed by civil right (17.18%), border control (16.50%) and economy (12.18%) categories.

Compared to papers in the large circulation group, the three papers representing cities of medium immigrant populations and in the medium circulation group contained little coverage on issues concerning immigrants and immigration. The diversity of coverage was considered poor because there was almost no coverage on economy, border control and crime categories. These papers cared most about civil rights issue of immigration and had a disproportional high percentage of coverage on this topic. As to papers in the small circulation group, even though the amount of coverage ranked the lowest among these three groups of newspapers, they had more proportionate coverage of each topical category with the exception of border control.

It was worth noticing that papers in the medium and small circulation groups all contained little coverage on the issue of border control. This phenomenon reflected that papers published in cities away from the border did not think the issue of border control relevant to their readers. The papers in the small circulation group emphasized greatly on economy. This finding indicated that cities with small immigrant populations were more concerned about immigrants' influences in the job market.

Judging from these findings, the researcher concluded that hypothesis 2 was partially supported. The first part of the hypothesis which stated that papers published in cities with large immigrant populations had more diversity in their coverage of immigration issues was true. The second half of hypothesis 2, which presumed that papers published in cities with medium immigrant populations had more diversity of coverage compared to papers in cities with small immigrant populations, was not supported. The findings showed that diversity of coverage did not differ much between medium circulation and small circulation papers.

In terms of the volume of coverage on the immigration issue, this study found that all newspapers ran a total of 199 articles in which 75 (37.69%) focused on immigration issue and 124 (62.31%) focused on non-immigration issue. The total number of paragraphs reached 5,601. Of the 5,601 paragraphs, 2,176 (38.85%) dealt with

immigration and 3425 (61.15%) were about non-immigration issues (see Table 6). These figures indicated that a large proportion of articles, about one third of them, only talked about immigration on the surface level without really discussing the issue.

TABLE 6: Frequencies of Articles and Paragraphs
of Non-immigration and Immigration Focus

	Articles	Paragraphs
Non-immigration	124 (62.31)	3425 (61.15)
Immigration	75 (37.69)	2176 (38.85)
Large Circulation	61	1881
Medium Circulation	6	182
Small Circulation	8	113
Total	199	5601

If we looked at those paragraphs that dealt with immigration issue, both in general and specifically about aspects of immigration, by individual newspapers, it was obvious that papers of large circulation, and published in cities with large immigrant populations had a lot more coverage than other papers. For papers in medium and small immigrant population cities, and in medium and small circulation groups, there was no consistent pattern that medium circulation papers ran more paragraphs about immigration than small circulation papers (see Table 6).

Drawing evidences from these figures, the researcher thought that hypothesis 1 was also partially supported. It was true that papers in cities with large immigrant populations had more coverage on immigration issue, but the difference in terms of volume of coverage between papers in cities with medium and small immigrant populations was not obvious -- but it did exist when grouped. See above table.

Conclusion and Discussion

Diversity in the news has been and remains to be one of the most important criteria in evaluating media performance (McQuail, 1993). As media's market structures have altered dramatically during the past two decades due to technological and social changes, readers who were now, more than ever, composed of people from different backgrounds and lifestyles, have begun to ask for more diversity in news and information. Media's understanding of these forces in the market was vital for their survival (Lacy, 1993).

This study investigated whether the immigrant factor of the readership had any effect on media content of immigration issue, in terms of volume of coverage, content diversity, and difference of treatment towards immigrant minorities. The results indicated that most of the nine newspapers under study had more unfavorable coverage, either by focusing on laws or opinions of anti-immigration or by showing negative aspects of immigrants and immigration. Immigrants, at least in these metropolitan papers, were still not welcomed in the United States.

The differences of the size of immigration populations did not show consistent patterns of influence on media's attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. Papers published in cities with large immigrant populations did not necessarily demonstrate favorable coverage of immigrants and immigration. However, it was worth noticing that papers in cities with small immigrant populations tended to be more unfavorable in their attitude. This study suggested that to get a more representative answer on the question of media's attitudes in relation to immigrant populations, more newspapers representing different sizes of immigrant populations should be included for further study.

While most newspapers held unfavorable views towards immigration and immigrants, one might wonder who were the immigrants these newspapers referred to. This study found that among all the paragraphs relating to immigrants and immigration, half of them referred to immigrants in general. Among those paragraphs mentioning specific ethnic groups, Hispanics and Asians were the object of coverage. Since Hispanics and Asians have been the largest two ethnic groups emigrated to the United

States during recent years, it was not surprising that these two groups attracted most of the coverage.

The fact that Hispanics generated three times of coverage than Asians did does not reflect immigration patterns though. According to statistics, from 1965 to 1981, Asian immigration increased tenfold, and the trend in recent years was that Asian immigrants accounted for about 43 percent of the total immigrant population. It was also projected that Asians would account for half of the annual growth in the U. S. population. Hispanic immigration, even though it showed an increase in absolute numbers, has decreased from the 1965 figures in relative terms (Wong, 1986). The reason that the media paid so much more attention to Hispanics than to Asians might be caused by the socio-economic status of these two immigrant groups. According to studies on Hispanic immigrants, they tended to have low skill levels as measured by years of schooling, English proficiency, and occupational skills; thus, they have been remaining at the bottom of socio-economic strata (Chiswick, 1986). Recent Asian immigrants, especially Chinese, Japanese, Korean Filipino and Vietnamese immigrants, tended to be more educated, better skilled and better paid (Wong, 1986).

Besides immigrants of Hispanic heritage and Asian heritage, other ethnic groups such as Europeans, who also constituted a significant immigrant population, were barely covered. Overall, immigrants of European heritage were not seen as a threat to the American society, while immigrants of color were looked upon as problems in the society.

As to the question of content diversity, this study found that the immigrant components of readership did influence the media to cover the immigration issue more diversely, but this effect only occurred in markets with very large numbers of immigrants. Aside from those cities considered as large cities for immigrants, cities with medium and small immigrant populations showed no difference in content diversity, that is, they performed poorly in providing readers with diversity of news concerning the immigration issue. The same pattern also appeared in the volume of coverage on immigration issue,

namely, papers in cities with large immigrant populations had much more coverage, but papers of cities with medium and small number of immigrants all had less coverage on the immigration issue.

Overall, papers of large circulation, and in cities with large immigrant populations, not only had more coverage of immigration issue, but also included more diversity in news content, compared to papers of medium and small circulation. This indicated that newspapers of large circulation, and published in cities with large number of immigrants, were aware of the ethnic diversity among their readers. Even though these large papers showed more diversity in their news content, this tendency was not associated with their attitudes towards immigration and immigrants, that is, they did not necessarily hold balanced or favorable attitudes. For the remaining papers, content diversity was not achieved. The reason might be that editors of these papers did not think this issue relevant to their readers because immigrants were not a significant portion of their readers.

References

Bridges, J. A. (1991). Daily newspaper managing editors' perceptions of news media functions. *Journalism Quarterly 68,* 719-728.

Brown, J. D., Bybee C. R., Wearden, S. T. & Straughan D. M., (1987). Invisible power: newspaper news sources and the limits of diversity. *Journalism Quarterly 64,* 45-54.

Chiswick, B. R. (1986). Mexican immigrants: the economic dimension. In R J. Simon (Ed.), *Immigration and American Public Policy* (pp. 92-101). Beverly Hill, CA: Sage.

Commission on Freedom of the Press (1947). *A Free and Responsible Press.* Chicago: University of Chicago.

Dates J. L. & Pease E. C. (1994). Warping the world: media's mangled images of race. *Media Studies Journal 8,* 89-95.

Gamson W. A. & Modigliani A. (1987). The changing culture of affirmative action. In R. G. Braungart & M. Braungart (Eds.), *Research in Political Sociology.* Greenwich, CN: JAI.

Griswold, W. F. Jr., (1991). *Community Structure, Reporter Specialization and Content Diversity among 90 Midwest Daily Newspapers.* Paper presented at AEJMC Annual Convention, Boston.

Hanson, K. A. (1991). Source diversity and newspaper enterprise journalism. *Journalism Quarterly 68,* 474-482.

Harwood, E. (1986). American public opinion and U.S. Immigration Policy. In Rita J. Simon (Ed.), *Immigration and American Public Policy* (pp. 201-212). Beverly Hill, CA: Sage.

Immigration and Naturalization Service (1994). *Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1993.* Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Jeffres L. W. & Hur K. K. (1979). White ethnics and their media images. *Journal of Communications 2,* 116-122.

Kerner Commission (1968). *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.* Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Lacy, S. (1993). Understanding & serving readers: the problem of fuzzy Market structure. *Newspaper Research Journal 14 (2),* 55-67.

Lasswell, H. (1960). The structure and function of communication in society. Reprinted in W. Shramm (Ed.), *Mass Communications.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Lippmann, W. (1936). The world outside and the pictures in our head. In S. Schramm & D. Roberts (Eds.), *The Process and Effects of Mass Communication* (Rev. ed.) (pp. 265-286). Urbana: University of Illinois.

Mansfield-Richardson, V. D. (1996). *Asian Americans and the Mass Media: A Content Analysis of Twenty U.S. Newspapers and A Survey of Asian American Journalists.* Unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Ohio University, Athens.

Martindale, C. (1990). Coverage of black Americans in four major newspapers, 1950-1989. *Journalism Quarterly 11,* 96-112.

Martindale, C. (1995). *Only in Glimpses: Portrayal of America's Largest Minority Groups by the New York Times, 1934-1994.* Paper presented AEJMC Annual Convention, Washington.

Maurer, G. (1994). *Effect of European Ethnic Readership on Newspaper Content: A Content Analysis of Six American Newspapers.* Unpublished master's thesis, Ohio University, Athens.

McQuail, D. (1993). *Media Performance: Mass Communication and the Public Interest.* London: Sage.

Miller, J. J. (1994). Immigration, the press and the new racism. *Media Studies Journal 8,* 19-28.

Miller, R. M. (Ed.). (1978). *Ethnic Images in American Film and Television.* Public Papers in the Humanities No. 1. Philadelphia: The Balch Institute.

Shoemaker, P. J., & Reese S. D. (1996). *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content* (2nd ed.). White Plains, NY: Longman.

Simon, R. J. (1985). *Public Opinion and the Immigrant: Print Media Coverage, 1880-1980.* Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company.

Simon, R. J., & Alexander S. H. (1993). *The Ambivalent Welcome: Print Media, Public Opinion and Immigration.* Westport, CT: Praeger.

Slater C. M. & Hall G. H. (Eds.). (1996). *1996 County and City Extra: Annual Metro, City and County Data Book.* Lanham, MD: Bernan.

Underwood D. & Stamm K. (1992). Balancing business with journalism: newsroom policies at 12 west coast newspapers. *Journalism Quarterly 69,* 301-317.

Voakes, P. S., Kapfer J., Durpius D., & Chern D. S. (1996). Diversity in the news: a conceptual and methodological framework. *Journalism Quarterly 73,* 582-593.

Wang, W. (1994). Covering the invisible "model minority." *Media Studies Journal 8,* 49-59.

Wong, M. G. (1986). Post-1965 Asian immigrants: Where do they come from, where are they now, and where are they going? In R. J. Simon (Ed.), *Immigration and American Public Policy* (pp. 150-168). Beverly Hill, CA: Sage.